BYZANTINISCHE FORSCHUNGEN

Internationale Zeitschrift für Byzantinistik

herausgegeben

von

WALTER E. KAEGI, Jr.

BAND XXVII

VERLAG ADOLF M. HAKKERT - AMSTERDAM

2002

PIONEERS OF BYZANTINE STUDIES IN AMERICA

Edited by
John W. Barker

ADOLF M. HAKKERT - PUBLISHER - AMSTERDAM
2002

ISBN 90-256-0619-9
90-256-1163-X

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PREFACE

In 1892 the great German scholar Karl Krumbacher brought out the initial number of *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, the first scholarly journal devoted to Byzantine studies. The year before, he had published the first edition of his monumental *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, whose expanded and definitive second edition was issued in 1897. In 1984, meanwhile, the launching of another new journal, the Russian *Vizantiniiskii vremennik*, signaled further momentum. These dates constitute a set of landmarks in the process by which Byzantine studies were emerging into international maturity as a serious scholarly and academic field by the end of the nineteenth century.

In the period of a little over a century since then, the rich blossoming of Byzantine studies in Europe has been shared in, and seriously enriched by, the steady emergence of the field in the Western Hemisphere. One hundered or so years ago, that field could hardly have been detected in the lands of the New World, save as shadowy fringes to the study of Late Antiquity or Patristics. The long background of academic life in Latin America, however, and the vast expansion of higher educational instituions in twentieth-century U.S.A. and Canada, have generated a voracious academic world quite receptive to including Byzantine studied within its repertoire. What might have been a slow natural development on its own was, of course, accelerated by that phenomenon which characterizes the modern history of the Western Hemisphere: immigration. The simple attraction of new opportunity has regularly drawn scholars trained in the Old World to transfer their knowledge and their specialties to the New. That pattern was even more dramatically expanded by the upheavals of ideology and war that sped so many more scholars across the Atlantic.

Such recurrent influxes were not alone responsible for establishing Byzantine studies in American academic centers, but they played a major role: so much so that the field was long dominated by expatriate scholars who had settled here. By the second half of the twentieth century a more significant flow of

American-born and -trained students enter the various disciplines of the field, so as to confirm its indigenous presence in our academic life. At the same time, immigrant scholars have continued to come to our shores and have continued to make important contributions. These fluctuating patterns are all part of the process by which American Byzantinology has come into its own, as a major component of the field on international terms.

Indeed, it is tempting to draw an apt analogy between this Byzantinological transfer with an earlier one: that is, with the migration of Byzantine intellectuals and scholars themselves to Western Europe during the Renaissance. The circumstances prompting the respective migrations of the fifteenth and the twentieth centuries had their differences, of course. In the latter epoch, participation was more diverse, with an important quota of scholars in the sciences and mathematics. But the humanities were, nevertheless, significantly represented. The smooth transfers of Byzantinology itself to America only pointed up the more, also, how international a field it had become, and how readily it might be brought into the academic world of the U.S.A., itself the most quintessential of immigrant societies.

The present volume is far from any kind of comprehensive historiographic survey of our field in America. On the contrary, it is simply a contribution to that end, in the form of sketches of a number of selected individuals who have played seminal roles--who have truly "pioneered" (in a word with much resonance in our context)--in bringing Byzantine studies to vibrant maturity in America.

Here a careful admission must be made as to the terms "America" and "American"--terms which properly have fully hemispheric meaning but which, as here, are employed in the very narrow sense so often annexed exclusively to the U.S.A. That is, to be sure, a kind of arrogant restriction, but it is one of convenience, if not necessity. (It had been hoped at least to draw upon the Canadian scene, without success: though the very recent and lamentable death of Nicholas Oikonomides might have allowed a possibility in that regard).

Readers may observe that a number of individuals beyond those represented here might well have been treated. Above all, it will be observed that inclusion for treatment has been limited to scholars already deceased. This policy eliminates from consideration a number of indisputably significant individual who are, happily, still among us at this writing. But it allows us to focus on those whose legacy is complete, whose presence is past, and whose familiarity is therefore in danger of fading. This is true especially of their larger human dimensions. Productive scholars may well live on after their mortal span through the durability of their publications. But their personalities and their interactions with others are easly lost in a generation or two, as those who knew and worked with them directly themselves pass from the scene. The goal of this collection is therefore to attempt preservation of something of the larger realities of these important individuals, before it is too late.

The essays that make up this volume originated (with one exception) as papers at sessions of the Byzantine Studies Conference, held in the successive six years of 1995-2000. I am grateful to the authors for their cooperation in getting them into print as a collection. (And I appreciate their allowing me to add some anecdotal supplements in a few instances I could not resist). These sketches inevitably take a variety of forms. They all attempt to go beyond merely the dry professional record to recapture the humanity of the individual involved. Sometimes only a portion or limited dimensions of the subject can be treated, sometimes at length and sometimes in brief. In all but two cases (Koehler, Vasiliev), the authors have known the subject personally, in the majority of instances as a student, or sometimes a collaborator. In one instance (Blake), the author is the son of the subject.

An obvious emphasis in the selection is the predominance of immigrant scholars. Of the nineteen individuals, fourteen were born outside the U.S.A. (though, of these, two of them received part or all of their training in this country). But it is not without significance that the other six of our pioneers were in fact American-born and-bred. The field has been defined as broadly as possible as to disciplines and specialties comprehended, though one subject

(Koehler) was not at all a Byzantinist--indeed, almost an anti-Byzantinist in some ways, and his career a study in setback as much as achievement.

It should not take those of us who are the scholarly heirs of these individuals to recognize some sense of indebtedness to, and connection with them. Working on this project, as well as in the recent preparation of a comprehensive directory of American Byzantinists, made me appreciate some genealogical implications. Our sense of scholarly identity is in part forged by our links to our teachers. It is easy to observe that, by this point, we have achieved quite a number of three-generation sequences of teacher-to-student relationships among American Byzantinists. It seems to me, in fact, that I am part of one of the rare four-generation sequences: Vasiliev taught my teacher, Charanis, and I have several students of my own now active; all of us, as it happens, with ties both to the University of Wisconsin and to Dumbarton Oaks!

All of the individuals represented here were part of the evolution of Byzantine studies in the U.S.A., and their stories give us insights into how the field developed in American academic life--whether through the infusion of immigrant contribution or through the early participation of native Americans themselves. Whatever the differences, these individuals are our forefathers, and we owe them the preservation of their memory. To boot, their stories are often quite fascinating in their own right.

Madison, Wisconsin: March 2001

...So much to be remembered,
so few to do the remembering...
-- Anonymous

...Praising what is lost
makes the remembrance dear.
-- Shakespeare, *All's Well*
That Ends Well, V, iii

ALEXANDER, PAUL (1910-1977)

RUDI PAUL LINDNER

Paul J. Alexander: "There Is No One Whose Loss Would Be a More Serious Blow"

Paul Julius Alexander was born in Berlin, Germany on May 12, 1910, and died in Berkeley, California on December 16, 1977.[1] His

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[1] As Professor Michael Alexander remarked at the symposium in memory of his father, "Are we really to believe that, in 1910, his Berlin Jewish father and his Viennese Jewish mother were so prescient as to know what their son would become, so that they gave him the perfect name for a Byzantinist, which sums up the three main strands in Byzantine history: Paul at the beginning, the greatest Christian; Alexander at the end, standing for the Hellenic and Hellenistic inheritance of Constantinople; and, in the middle, Julius, the great Roman conqueror and founder of a dynasty, symbolizing the Roman heritage?" Many are the debts I have accumulated in the course of preparing this appreciation. My greatest obligations are to Mrs. Eleanor Alexander, Ms. Ann Alexander, Lawrence Alexander, Esq., and Professor Michael Alexander, whom I thank for their generosity. I have used documents preserved at The University of Michigan, and Professor Martin Jay provided information from the University of California, Berkeley. I am also grateful to Mr. Dennis E. Rohrbaugh, archivist at the Research Foundation for Jewish Immigration in New York. There are relevant papers here and at the Leo Baeck Institute, also in New York. A number of Paul Alexander's students have shared experiences with me, including Professors Arthur Fisher, Steven Benin, Emily Albu, and especially Dorothy Abrahamse, who presented a memorial address at the 1978 Byzantine Studies Conference, which was dedicated to his memory. I was also privileged to obtain some reminiscences from Professors Stephen Tonsor and Robert Brentano. This essay began as a talk before the Byzantine Studies Conference, and I presented an expanded version at the symposium in Professor Alexander's memory held at the University of California, where I gathered more material and helpful comments from the participants and audience. I wish to thank Professor John Barker, my first master, for his generosity in inviting me to write this essay. The title quotation is in an assessment from Professor William B. Willcox to the regents of The University of Michigan, March 19, 1964.

life and career mix elements of the European and the American, but as a Byzantinist he was an American pioneer much more than a refugee scholar. This essay is about the development of his career, some of the distinctive aspects of that career, and the impact of his work. He was uniquely accomplished and uniformly loved.

The eldest of four siblings, Alexander was born to a Jewish mercantile family. His father, a banker, was a native Berliner, while his mother came from Vienna.[2] His education at school and at home was that of many future businessmen, state servants, and academicians, with due attention paid to ancient history, ancient art, and music: for many years he played the flute, and the love of music passed across the generations to his own children. As for literary influences, the great figure of his youth was Thomas Mann, "that uncanny fine nose of Thomas Mann for political trends (Settembrini-Naphta) that discovered long before anybody else in which direction things were going."[3]

The Alexander family moved from Berlin, where Paul had been a student at the Collège Français, a humanistic school, to Hamburg, where he completed his studies in 1929 at the Heinrich Hertz Realgymnasium, which unfortunately offered no instruction in Greek. A philosophy student at the University, Erich Weil, provided some tutoring in Greek, and became a lifelong friend.

Like many German Jews who had an interest in history but faced the *numerus clausus,* he chose a career in law, obtaining the Dr. jur.

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[2] For the outline of his career, see Herbert A. Strauss and Werner Röder, *International Biographical Dictionary of Central European Emigrés 1933-1945,* vol. 2 pt. 1 (Munich-New York, 1983) and the memoir prepared by Professor Stephan Kuttner for the Mediaeval Academy in *Speculum* 53:3 (1978), 654-656.

[3] "Gratiarum Actio, Hobart and William Smith Colleges, Sunday, June 5, 1977." Professor Stephen Tonsor informs me that at the beginning of his researches into apocalypse, Paul Alexander reread *Dr. Faustus* with enthusiasm.

at Hamburg in 1932 with a thesis on insurance law.[4] At the completion of legal studies, German graduates had to gain experience in a law court. After practicing in Hamburg and then Cologne, Alexander found his future blocked by the Nazi civil service laws and he was dismissed in the late spring of 1933, along with so many other Jews (including his future father-in-law). He left for Paris on a student visa and received a second law degree in 1934. However, he never really believed that he could have a legal career in France.

It was at this time that he returned to his earlier interests. Erich Weil was in Paris, and he gave Alexander a Byzantine legal document for study, which turned his concentration from Greek antiquity towards Byzantine history. Alexander audited classes at the École Pratique des Hautes Études given by the Paris Byzantinists, among whom he later recalled in particular Germaine Rouillard; and he frequented the Bibliothèque Nationale.[5] He retained the highest regard for the French school, and recalling a lecture he delivered many years later to a gathering of the students and colleagues of Paul Lemerle, Professor Alexander remarked that he had felt himself to be addressing an audience of princes. France was only a way station, however.

Still a student, despite two law degrees, Alexander met with Edward R. Murrow, who was at that time director of the International Student Service. The ISS provided twenty dollars a month for a dozen Jewish refugee students to study in the U.S.A., and a Jewish fraternity paid tuition. They probably saved his life.

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[4] His future father-in-law, Erich Eyck, had been a lawyer in Berlin. In 1937, nearly sixty years of age, Dr. Eyck managed to emigrate to London and later published distinguished volumes on German and English history.

[5] Rouillard published *L'Administration civile de l'Égypte Byzantine* (second edition, Paris, 1928), *Actes de Lavra* (Paris, 1937), *La vie rurale dans l'empire Byzantin* (Paris, 1953), and studies of Greek papyri. The sorts of sources for these works, as well as the methods associated with their study, appear later in the work of Alexander and of colleagues to whom he was close.

He received an assignment to attend university in West Virginia, but an agriculture student wanted the place and, after a trade, Alexander came to Ann Arbor in 1935. For one year he lived in at Phi Sigma Delta, a Jewish fraternity house whose national office had made the grant, and studied with Arthur E. Boak, professor of ancient and Byzantine history, and Herbert Youtie, professor in charge of Michigan's precious collection of papyri. Boak enjoyed an international reputation, but Youtie made the greater impression on Alexander, just a few years his junior. The two Michigan professors provided Alexander's first formal and dedicated training in the Byzantine sources. Unlike so many of the refugees, whose training and career had been formed in a Central European setting, Alexander was very much an American product. He took all of his Byzantine course work on this side of the Atlantic.[6]

In 1936 he moved to Harvard, where he earned the Ph.D. in four years, completing a dissertation on Patriarch Nicephorus under the direction of Robert P. Blake.[7] His training was brief and intense. He took the opportunity to work with a number of established scholars, including the Athenian historian William Scott Ferguson, whose photograph decorated the wall of Alexander's Berkeley office many years later, and he also studied with George La Piana, Samuel Hazzard Cross, Mason Hammond, and Werner Jaeger. Already within a year of Alexander's arrival in Cambridge, his article on the Emperor Hadrian went to press from Hammond's seminar.[8] Here he displayed a technique, to which he returned often, of seeking

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[6] Eleanor Alexander, "Remembering a Good Life," remarks presented at the Paul J. Alexander Memorial Symposium, Berkeley, December 8, 1995. One of those historians trained in Germany, Hans Rosenberg, six years senior to Alexander, later served on the search committee that brought him to the University of California.

[7] Blake was something more than a thesis supervisor. An advisor on matters both curricular and extracurricular, he also arranged for Alexander to tutor his son, Igor, in French.

[8] "Letters and Speeches of the Emperor Hadrian," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 49 (1938), 141-177.

information about thoughts and attitudes from sources beyond the formal chronicles and prose authors.[9] To Greek and Latin he added Old Church Slavonic and Syriac. One reason he finished so rapidly was because he was excused from the general examinations, taking a year's reading of Greek and Latin texts instead with John H. Finley, Jr. Even leaving the composition of a dissertation aside, it would be practically impossible today to match the breadth and depth of his program in four or five years. The greatest influence on him was Jaeger, then Ferguson and Youtie at Michigan, scholars of great learning, attention to suggestive detail, and uncompromising honesty. Jaeger, who had been unhappy during his first American years in Chicago, was not the influence at Harvard one might have expected. In Alexander he found a congenial student, one also fascinated by the symmetries of textual criticism, and one also who appreciated the humanistic background Jaeger had sought to find in the American academy.[10] Jaeger enjoyed talking about his views of textual criticism, of manuscripts, of teaching and research, and in Alexander he found a good listener; a few years later, Jaeger may have been of decisive assistance in obtaining a Guggenheim Fellowship and a year at the Institute for Advanced Studies for his former student. Youtie, for his part, saw how concentrated work on a small papyrus could offer insights into broad issues of society, and he helped developed Paul's desire to see behind even the least promising text.

In 1938, during his Harvard days, Paul married Eleanor Eyck. The families had much in common, united by love and history.

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[9] Professor Alexander buried in a footnote the suggestion that Delbrück's German translation of Hadrian's remarks to an African legion bears rhetorical traces of Wilhelm II's exhortations to his uhlans on maneuvers. Professor Alexander's Byzantium was never far from his own inheritances, but his own experience never served as a template for interpreting Byzantium.

[10] See William M. Calder, III, "Werner Jaeger," in Ward W. Briggs and Calder, eds., *Classical Scholarship: A Biographical Encyclopedia* (New York, 1990), 211-226. It is perhaps a measure of that academic society, and of the Emigration, that Jaeger was the only teacher to invite the Alexanders to his home.

Their orbits had been very close in Berlin, but Paul and Eleanor had met in Paris. Their parents' families became very close, and during their courtship the Alexanders discovered how many mutual friends they had. While Paul left Paris for Ann Arbor, Eleanor left for Brazil and a position teaching the children of refugees at a new settlement in the countryside, a place she loved but left after a year of waiting for the appropriate permits and documents that would allow her to enter the U.S. Most of the Alexanders and Eycks managed to extricate themselves from Germany, and along with Paul and Eleanor, began their lives anew.

Upon completion of the degree, Paul Alexander remained at Harvard for a year as an assistant to Ferguson and Sterling Dow before joining the first group of fellows at Dumbarton Oaks from 1941 to 1943. His work then and later, involving the close reading of manuscripts of Nicephorus, derived its strength from at least three sources: his legal training, his work in what he termed the "seminaries" at Harvard, and a more practical source, his wartime service with the O.S.S. from 1943 to 1945. The Research and Analysis Branch, at 23rd and E Streets in downtown Washington, was an even more distinguished ambience than Dumbarton Oaks in Georgetown. At the helm stood Professor William L. Langer, Harvard's great professor of modern European history; and under him worked a number of refugees who had already become historians in Europe: Richard Krautheimer (art history), Herbert Marcuse (trained in philosophy), Hajo Holborn, and Felix Gilbert, among others. And here, when he was able to turn away from his research into German agriculture, Alexander was a member of an extraordinarily promising and equally unofficial research seminar whose members included Franklin Ford, Carl Schorske, H. Stuart Hughes, Gordon Craig, and Leonard Krieger.[11] In 1943 he became a U.S. citizen and the Alexanders never returned to Germany.

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[11] For the role of academicians in the OSS, see Barry M. Katz, "German Historians in the Office of Strategic Services," in Hartmut Lehmann and James J.

With a growing family, Paul sought a teaching post in 1945 and ultimately accepted a post at Hobart and William Smith Colleges, although most of his early teaching lay completely outside his chosen fields, including English literature, German, and general history; for a time he was also advisor to the Jewish students on campus. At Hobart he found a congenial colleague in the classicist Brooks Otis, with whom he developed a great books course that achieved legendary status, for which the two humanists received honorary degrees in 1977. The teaching load was heavy (thirteen hours a week) and Alexander was always conscientious, with the result that he was able to return to research only during a year at the Institute for Advanced Study in 1951-1952. It was after being called to Brandeis University in 1954 that he was able to complete the revised dissertation for publication.[12] He spent four years at Brandeis and was chairman of the department for a year. Brandeis was a young institution, however, and he was still unable to teach his specialty or to be part of a larger medieval program. Jewish history and Hebrew were central to the departmental program in ancient history, in preference to Greek and Latin.

In 1956 Arthur Boak retired from Michigan, after a generation of teaching and seventeen years as chair of the history department. Boak was one of the most visible and respected historians at Ann Arbor, and the department began a private and lengthy search, involving correspondence between colleagues here and abroad, and interviews held both in the U.S. and Europe. Although Boak's main teaching area had lain in antiquity, he was concerned about preserving Byzantium as a research and teaching area, and he urged his colleagues to take a serious look at Alexander. After reading the proofs of his book, hearing him speak at a Dumbarton Oaks symposium, a visit and a second round of letters, the department

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Sheehan, eds., *An Interrupted Past: German-Speaking Refugee Historians in the United States after 1933* (Cambridge, 1991), 136-139.

[12] *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople: Ecclesiastical Policy and Image Worship in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford, 1958).

brought him back to Ann Arbor. Both Boak and Youtie were enthusiastic in their welcome: Youtie said that he had not expected Paul's Greek to improve so much.

Now, nearly twenty years after the doctorate, Paul Alexander was finally in a position to teach graduate students his specialty. In 1963, John Eadie, a specialist in Late Antiquity, arrived to bring assistance in ancient history, but Alexander shared in the introductory ancient history survey and offered a Greek history seminar along with his courses and seminars in Byzantine history. He took up once again a close association with Herbert Youtie, whose prose style and approach to topics beyond the papyrological he admired.[13] Within a few years, he had become the "senior statesman" of his department.[14]

By 1967 Alexander's interests had widened to include a deep interest in apocalyptic literature, but he was unable to develop his research and teaching of literature in Ann Arbor. He accepted a joint position in the history and comparative literature departments at the University of California, Berkeley, where he spent the remainder of his career.[15] There had been three appointments in Byzantine history at California in earlier years, but none was lasting, and the last, Professor George Soulis, died tragically after one year of service. As the search began yet again, it became clear that there was strong interest from colleagues in comparative literature, and Alexander's capacity to combine textual criticism with a breadth of perspective brought him to the fore. In fact, the initial impetus for appointing Paul Alexander came from Professor Alain Renoir, who sought a strong classicist to anchor the newly founded department. Alexander appealed greatly to both departments. To the historians, he offered distinction in the treatment of original sources of many types,

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[13] I owe this observation, and much in addition, to the kindness of Professor John Eadie.

[14] [John Bowditch], recommendation for Fulbright award, August 26, 1964.

[15] The interest in apocalyptic literature as a promising source, while intense, was not new: cf. *Nicephorus,* 234.

demonstrated excellence in a variety of special fields, and a remarkable research project. For the faculty in comparative literature, he was willing to bring Byzantine literary history into the classroom. His undergraduate course on the epic and his seminars on Byzantine literature aroused an intense interest among students. In a medieval program that had begun to expand in numbers of faculty and students, Alexander afforded a unique opportunity to bridge west and east, history and literature.[16] Berkeley and the Bay Area had many enticements for the Alexanders, not least of which were the considerable and growing numbers of classicists and medievalists, proximity to his old friend and Hobart colleague Brooks Otis, and the ways in which the land and light reminded them of Rome, which they loved.[17] He taught the survey of Byzantine history, contributed to the core comparative literature course, and taught seminars on a variety of subjects: his last, taught jointly with Robert Brentano, was on the historical uses of saints' lives, recalling his early concern for the nature of biography in Byzantium.[18] As he retired, offers of further teaching and a return to Dumbarton Oaks came his way, as well as election to American and foreign academies, but illness brought his life and work to a premature end.[19]

This account outlines a career of slow and steady advancement, but it reveals little more than chronology. It was easy, especially for search committees operating at a distance, to place him among the refugees who were already historians, but it is important to

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[16] In January 1967 there was one tenured medievalist in the department. By September 1970 there were six, not to mention the historians in the Institute of Medieval Canon Law or any of the visiting faculty.

[17] The Alexander family spent three years based in Rome, 1960-1961, 1965-1966, and 1974-1975.

[18] Stephan Kuttner, Gray C. Boyce, Robert Brentano, and Ihor Ševčenko, "Paul J. Alexander," *Speculum* 53:3 (1978), 655.

[19] Paul Alexander was elected a Fellow of the Mediaeval Academy of America, the American Academy of Arts and Letters, and Corresponding Fellow of the British Academy as well as the Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici.

emphasize again that his training as a historian was an American accomplishment. And unlike so many of the historians who had worked in Europe, more than half of Paul Alexander's professional life was spent at undergraduate teaching institutions. It was in culture and bearing, not in training or personal expectations, that he remained European. He did not have to retrain and restrain himself, as, say, a refugee physician might. In 1937 he wrote, "So many refugees I know have had to retrain and do work that is hard and unsatisfactory, while I have changed to a profession that fulfills me and is, for me, far more satisfying than the study of law."[20]

Made of such experiences was his professional life; what made his scholarly career so distinctive? Alexander was certainly one of our pioneers of Byzantine studies in the U.S.A. His was the first American Ph.D. thesis on a topic that was clearly focused on Byzantine history. His work on Patriarch Nicephorus was the first book-length American treatment of a topic in middle Byzantine history. It appears as well to have been the only analytical monograph on Byzantium published anywhere during 1958.[21]

Pioneer efforts are often suggestive but rarely definitive. Still, his first book displays a considered, mature, and erudite approach. For breadth of sources, analysis of works in manuscript, and the revival of material previously (and supposedly for good cause) neglected, it would be hard to find the equal of this book today. His study of Patriarch Nicephorus brought new life to the study of the second period of Iconoclasm. However, it was more than that. Beginning at the beginning, Alexander considered the earlier manifestations of doubt concerning the role of images in Christian society and the possibility of an Islamic model. This background work involved him

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[20] Quoted in Eleanor E. Alexander, *Stories of My Life* (Berkeley, 1986), 67. This work appeared in cooperation with the Judah L. Magnes Museum in Berkeley.

[21] The reviews of his work are a study in themselves. A few of the reviewers of this book noted his gentle treatment of previous scholarship, and one registered a complaint on that score! One scholar published three separate reviews of the book.

in the study of Armenian religious history and the very difficult text of Hypatius of Ephesus.[22] The life and works of Nicephorus became hostage to the larger story of the second Iconoclasm, for which Alexander was able to elucidate new materials and, in particular, to present the iconophile writings of Nicephorus' later years. The book remains a commentary on the early history of the controversy, an intellectual biography, a discussion of Aristotelian apologetics, and a treasury of rich learning. There is also a moment of great charm at the end, when Alexander steps back and "indulges in some daydreaming," framing the life of Nicephorus with a series of "What if?" conjectures, displaying his sympathy for not only the "wise and foolish acts and omissions of pious men" but also for those veterans of battle who "literally did not know where they would eat their next meal."[23] For Alexander, intellectual history touched everyone.

This book was not his sole pioneering venture. Let us set aside for the moment his use of apocalyptic literature, which led to one of the rare articles on Byzantine history to appear in the *American Historical Review*.[24] What appeared first was his early edition and commentary on a chrysobull of Andronicus II.[25] Such documents are readily available today, either in register form or in such corpora as the Athos series. Bearing in mind the palaeographical and codicological skills required, the need to tease out toponymic and onomastic data from an era removed five centuries from his dissertation, and the Slavic focus, this is an impressive contribution to American Byzantine studies. Alexander's publication was the

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[22] See the reprint (with additional comments) of his articles in *Religious and Political History and Thought in the Byzantine Empire* (London, 1978), nos. VI and VII.

[23] *Patriarch Nicephorus,* 230-231.

[24] "Medieval Apocalypses as Historical Sources," *Religious and Political History and Thought*, no. XIII.

[25] "A Chrysobull of the Emperor Andronicus II Palaeologus in Favor of the See of Kanina in Albania," *Religious and Political History and Thought,* no. V, originally published in 1941.

pioneer edition of a lengthy Byzantine administrative document, and it set a very high standard for the future, one he himself equaled in his contribution to the Jaeger editions of Gregory of Nyssa. In editing and reviving a text, he seems to have enjoyed shining a bright light into all the obscure corners, expecting (and often being rewarded with) a bright nugget. For example, in the Gregory of Nyssa edition he noted the first appearance of a water-driven sawmill and sent it on to a grateful Lynn White.[26]

The range of interests led to a broadening of his already impressive range of languages. When an apocalyptic text brought him to Sicily, and he decided to work beyond the Risorgimento translations from the Arabic by Michele Amari, he turned directly to the pithy and elliptic Arabic grammar of Carl Brockelmann and, with Syriac and Hebrew already by his side, was able to handle the advanced course offered by Professor Ariel Bloch.

The apocalyptic text that brought him to Sicily was the Old Church Slavonic version of the *Vision of Daniel*.[27] Professor Alexander used this text to elucidate two completely different historical contexts. One is the whirlwind of Norman-Byzantine conflict at the end of the 1070s. The second is the initial Muslim attempt to conquer Sicily in 827.[28] Here once again, the careful study of manuscripts leads into the minds of two different and equally concerned authors, who saw how an apocalypse spoke to their needs and fears, and beyond that, the study led to new discoveries about military actions in the Balkans and the first accurate reconstruction of the initial Arab invasion of Sicily. Here

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[26] Given the bristly tone of so much contemporary scholarship, where ideology and ambition combine with a scarcity of resources to mix a deadly brew, Alexander's generosity is all the more memorable.

[27] See *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition,* edited by Dorothy deF. Abrahamse (Berkeley, 1985), 62-72. The reviews of this last, unfinished book do not do sufficient justice to the labors of Professor Abrahamse, in whose debt we all remain.

[28] *Religious and Political History and Thought,* nos. XIV and XVI.

was proof of the merit of Alexander's suggestion that a productive way of seeing the environment was to examine sources on the edge rather than the chronicles at the center. For those who had harbored any doubts about the versatility and utility of the apocalyptic narrative, Alexander's tour de force, making important contributions in two completely different historical fields from the same obscure manuscript, was a marvel of historical method.

Another form of scholarly breadth appears in the range of work of his Ph.D. students, both at Michigan and at California. He trained specialists not only in Byzantine history but also in Greek and Roman history, patristics, the history of the Normans, Jewish history, antiquity, medieval religious studies, and the history of the steppe. Thus in topical terms there is no Alexander school as there was a Wisconsin school of medieval economic history in the era of Robert Reynolds and David Herlihy or a Princeton school of institutional history during the professorship of Joseph Strayer. Whether the shape of student interests brought them to these teachers, or whether the teachers planted and nourished a particular interest, is not to be resolved here; this is only to point out that to study with Professor Alexander did not put you to work in his favorite garden. That generosity was a blessing, and if there is in any sense an Alexander school, it finds a definition in the careful dissection of the sources and the attitudes that gave them birth. His students commented on other forms of teaching as well. Alexander was dedicated not only to scholarship but also to justice, and to be at the University of California in the 1960s and 1970s brought many a challenge. On one occasion, when there was to be a student boycott and anti-war action, he suggested to the students in his seminar that if the scholarly discussions could continue at his home, he would go with them door-to-door to discuss the war. He led the seminar on the Macedonian Renaissance, and he went with the students into the neighborhoods.[29]

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[29] I thank Professor Emily Albu for sharing her experiences with me. Similar remarks about Professor Alexander's dedication to justice and his interest in

What united Alexander's work in patristics, imperial foundations, the second iconoclasm, and apocalyptic texts was his affection for the text and his love of the search for the minds surrounding it. Already in his first published article, on the official utterances of Hadrian, he attempted to reach into a well-hidden individual. At the end of his career, Professor Alexander put it this way: "I know of no more satisfying experience than to free, by the application of the methods of textual criticism, an important ancient and medieval text from the dross of the centuries...."[30]

What this meant was a close and full reading of a text. Professor Alexander pointed out that it did not suffice to be a "raisin picker," one who sought only the most striking and obviously helpful evidence. Thus, an earlier examination of the *Definition* of the Iconoclastic Council of 815 used "the method of picking the heretical raisins and leaving the orthodox cake...." As a result, "the raisin-pickers overlooked a great deal, roughly half, of the heretical material and consequently arrived at half-baked...conclusions." Texts required a full understanding, and a full understanding required attention to all the elements, all the chapters, all the glosses. By the way, cakes with raisins appear to have been a special delicacy for Berliners.[31]

From work on the text in its fullness, and the life and spirit of the author lurking behind it, he turned to examine the life of the text after composition, across the generations and cultural lines. Here we may compare his use of, for example, eschatological texts with their use in the hands of an earlier California medievalist, Ernst H.

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discussions of contemporary politics and the duties of citizenship have come from other former students.

[30] *Religious and Political History and Thought,* iii.

[31] "The Iconoclastic Council of St. Sophia (815) and Its Definition (Horos)," *Religious and Political History and Thought*, VIII, originally published in 1953, 39. There may be a special Berlin connection to the comments on "raisin pickers." Eleanor Alexander, *Stories of My Life*, 50; raisins were not to be found regularly in Rolandia and they were a special favorite.

Kantorowicz, the only pre-war full professor of medieval history in Germany to practice in the United States. The Alexanders had considered at one point whether Paul's teaching duplicated any of the course offerings Kantorowicz had taught at California. In his panegyric of Frederick II Kantorowicz had used the prophetic literature to telling literary effect, setting forth the apocalyptic prophecies in the hope of arousing the emperor "who slumbers not nor sleeps." There is a stark contrast between the inflammatory prose of Kantorowicz and the irenic concern of Alexander, not for conjuring an apparition from the Erzgebirge, but for sympathetic appreciation of the worried and fearful souls who wrote, renewed, and revised these remarkable prophecies to meet the threats that so often faced Byzantines.[32] In contrast with Kantorowicz, Alexander's concern was not with the saving emperor but with the intellectual and emotional worlds of those worriers and seekers who found solace in prophecy as history.[33] What is clear is that Alexander began moving in the direction of comparative history in his publications on the migration of such literary motifs as the last Roman emperor and its portentous appeal in Europe.

Professor Alexander's final major project was on Byzantine apocalyptic thought, to which he was led from a reading of the

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[32] In addition to other works cited here, see his exemplary edition of and commentary on *The Oracle of Baalbek*: *The Tiburtine Sibyl in Greek Dress* (Washington, D.C., 1967).

[33] See "Byzantium and the Migration of Literary Works and Motifs: The Legend of the Last Roman Emperor," *Religious and Political History and Thought,* XII, published in 1971, and two works published after his death: "The Medieval Legend of the Last Roman Emperor and Its Messianic Origins," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 41 (1979), 1-15, and "The Diffusion of Byzantine Apocalypses in the Medieval West and the Beginnings of Joachimism," in Ann Williams, ed., *Prophecy and Millenarianism: Essays in Honour of Marjorie Reeves* (London, 1980), 53-106.

Legatio of Liudprand of Cremona.[34] This had great interest for him as both literature and historical source, and although he left the work unfinished, what remains is of great interest, learning, depth of investigation, and suggestive of further research. The appeal was very great just because apocalyptic texts were both consciously literary and historical productions. As he put it, "...the dividing line between history and eschatology was a fluid one and...in this type of literature events tended to slip from one category into the other. This allows a general conclusion that apocalyptic literature carries within itself the germs of its proliferation: ancient prophecies and revelations consequently re-interpreted in the light of current events."[35] He saw the importance of studying what he called the "apocalyptic impulse," both the modes of operation in their composition and the reasons behind the public demand for them. Part of every apocalypse was "history disguised as prophecy," and because such texts reflected the "judgments, attitudes, hopes and fears of their authors and their environment," the apocalypses were "mirrors held up to the course of history," mirrors that could not only reflect but also distort, allowing a view of the moods of the producers and consumers of the texts.[36] As so often, and without making it plain, his concern was with the underdog and with redressing the claim of Brecht that "die im Dunkel, sieht man nicht."

Alexander's work is demanding of any reader. The argument proceeds in text, footnote, and dialogue with works cited; we read him as he read A.H.M. Jones, with volumes balanced on each knee.[37] We follow as he uses the readings of Syriac and Latin translations to

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[34] One work that impressed him greatly as he planned his research was Norman Cohn's *The Pursuit of the Millennium* (London, 1957), which appeared during the year he was studying Liudprand.

[35] Alexander to Freeman D. Miller, September 24, 1963. Freeman Miller was professor of astronomy and associate dean of the graduate school at Michigan.

[36] "Plan of Research," undated but written in 1964.

[37] See his extensive review of *The Later Roman Empire 284-602* in *American Journal of Philology* 87 (1966), 337-350, esp. 350.

reconstruct a Greek original. At the end of a footnote to a footnote (there are more than a dozen of these in *Patriarch Nicephorus*) we learn of yet further literature that he regrets not having been able to study. And even for the first-year student reading Alexander's only textbook, there is the invitation to examine oneself through comparing reactions to two great men, in this instance Socrates and Werner Jaeger.[38] There is certainly a legacy of Professor Alexander for any student of Byzantine iconoclasm, or apocalyptic literature, of the works of Gregory of Nyssa, and of medieval intellectual history in general. There is also another legacy, the search for past minds and the attempt to understand them to the fullest, especially as they reacted to the stress of their times. The footnotes are long because the people are important: they are not raisins.

Professor Alexander once told me a story that illustrates this very point. While he was performing research on the first Muslim campaign in Sicily, he visited various sites on the island and took the occasion to take long walks here and there in the countryside. One afternoon he encountered a shepherd and his flock, and both parties paused to rest. While Professor Alexander understood what the shepherd was doing, the shepherd was not entirely clear about the connection between his beloved hills and an old Slavonic manuscript. Finally, in the shade of a nearby tree, they sat comparing the advantages and disadvantages of their chosen professions, and parted with a mutual appreciation of each other's ways.

Let me end before the beginning. The Shabbat of Paul Alexander's Bar Mitzvah was May 10, 1923, a festive occasion.[39]

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[38] *The Ancient World to A.D. 300,* second edition (New York, 1967), 126-128.

[39] The reverberations of ancient and medieval Jewish thinkers are present in much of Alexander's work on iconoclasm and prophecy. His sole publication that reaches directly into that tradition is "A Neglected Palimpsest of Philo Judaeus," in Kurt Treu, ed., *Studia Codicologica* (Berlin, 1977: Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, Bd. 124), 1-14, written to honor Marcel Richard.

The Torah and Haftorah sections for that date were double portions, a suitable challenge for a master of texts. In the Torah portion (Lev. 26) we find a strong prohibition against the worship of idols, pictures, figured stones – a first iconoclasm. And the Haftorah selection (Jer. 16-17) includes a wonderful series of apocalyptic prophecies. Iconoclasm and apocalyptic ring forth from a Berlin synagogue, decades before his encounter with Patriarch Nicephorus, more decades before his journey to the oracle of Baalbek. Did he remember?

Finally, I have one memory to share from the pleasure that has come from preparing this essay. Graduate and undergraduate alumni of Paul Alexander's teaching, colleagues from Hobart, Brandeis, Michigan, and California, friends from Paris and Rome -- there is no one who does not love him still.

Rudi Paul Lindner

ANASTOS, MILTON (1909-1997)

JOHN S. LANGDON

Milton Vasil Anastos, Pioneer of Byzantine Intellectual History in the United States

When reflecting back upon the brilliant intersection of Milton Anastos with the *Mind of Byzantium*,[1] one is struck by the extraordinary breadth of his scholarly inquiry into the widest spectrum of the Hellenic experience: For Anastos, Greek intellectual history down to the advent of the modern epoch had to be viewed in its totality, that is, as an evolving cultural continuum which began with Homer and extended through the dreadful Halosis of 29 May 1453 to the writings of the Hellenophiles who triggered the Italian Renaissance of the Quattrocento.[2] From Anastos's perspective, Byzantine absolutism traced its roots back past Plato to the Homeric

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[1] *Vid. infra* in this essay for a list of the rubrics of the unpublished *magnum opus* of that title, which resides in typescript draft in the Anastos archives in Los Angeles; its complete outline appears in the Appendix. In published form its length would come to four or five full volumes: *vid.* Milton V. Anastos, "A Life of Learning: Scholarship by Contrariety," *American Council of Learned Societies Newsletter*, 37.1-2 (1986), 9. Aside from an array of learned essays on discrete topics mined from the *Mind of Byzantium* for publication in prominent journals, substantial sections of it appeared in Greek in 1978-79: *vid.* Speros Vryonis, jr., *et al.*, "Memoirs of Fellows and Corresponding Fellows of the Medieval Academy of America: Milton V. Anastos," *Speculum*, 73.3 (1998), 950.

[2] Anastos, "Some Reflections on Byzantine Culture and its Influence," *St. Vladimir's Seminary Quarterly*, 2 (1954), 5 f.: "In Byzantium . . . the great works of antiquity were constantly read, studied, commented upon, and copied . . . But for this activity, the world would have had no contact with these classics . . . the most precious ornaments of western civilization." *Ibid.*, 8: "The renaissance in Western Europe was . . . the result of the enthusiasm of . . . the Byzantine scholars, who . . . personally introduced western men of letters in Venice, Ferrara, Florence, and other Italian cities to the world of ancient Greece . . . One of the most interesting figures in this movement was the famous Byzantine humanist, George Gemistus Pletho (ca. 1355-1452)."

tradition.[3] Not surprisingly, he was fascinated by the Byzantine *literati* like Eustathius of Thessalonike and John Tzetzes, who produced elaborate commentaries on the Homeric writings which form the foundation of Medieval Byzantine scholarship;[4] and, to the utter delight of Anastos, the earliest such commentaries of the Byzantine revival of the ninth to tenth centuries, the anonymous *Epimerismi* on the *Iliad*, were carefully studied and edited in 1983 by his esteemed successor at UCLA, Andrew R. Dyck.[5] The renowned Anastos Library, which now resides at Notre Dame in the library complex named after Father Theodore M. Hesburgh, who was instrumental in its acquisition by that institution, is replete with the best editions of the major Ancient Hellenic and Latin texts.[6] The library, then, is a living testimony to Anastos's vision of the roots of Medieval Hellenism. Anastos was especially proud of his *complete* set of Greek and Latin Teubner texts, which includes many important Byzantine sources.

As if to punctuate the importance of Pre-Modern Hellenism to the *American experience*, Anastos made an eloquent case for the rôle of the Byzantines in inspiring Columbus's discovery of the New World through their transmission of Strabo (and his idea of the circumnavigability of the Earth) to the West at the Council of Ferrara-

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3 Anastos, "Byzantine Political Theory: Its Classical Precedents and Legal Embodiment," *The "Past" in Medieval and Modern Greek Culture*, ed. Speros Vryonis, Jr. = *Byzantina kai Metabyzantina*, 1 (1978), repr. as Essay I in Anastos, *Aspects of the Mind of Byzantium: Political Theory, Theology, and Ecclesiastical Relations with the See of Rome*, edd. Speros Vryonis, Jr. and Nicholas Goodhue (*Variorum Reprints* [London, 2001]) (hereafter "Anastos *Variorum* II"), forthcoming, p. 15; *idem*, "Scholarship by Contrariety" (*supra*, n. 1), 8.

4 *Vid.* Anastos's thoughtful excursus on "Byzantine Literature," *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2 (New York, 1967), 996 f.

5 *Epimerismi homerici*, ed. Andrew R. Dyck (Berlin, 1983).

6 On the relocation of the library there in 1997, *vid.* David Jenkins, "Bringing Byzantine Studies to Notre Dame," *Access: News from the University Libraries of Notre Dame*, 76 (2000), 1 ff.; consult now also the Notre Dame Anastos Library's web site: www.byzantine.nd.edu, which has a link to the on-line version of Jenkins's article: www.nd.edu/~ladvance/advance/access/spring00/Byzantine.htm.

Florence,[7] at which George Gemistus Plethon, the subject of Anastos's 1940 Harvard dissertation,[8] played a surprisingly prominent part---surprising because of Plethon's disavowal of Christianity in favor of a return to the pagan Hellenic pantheon, apostasy which later prompted the Patriarch George Scholarios to burn virtually all of Plethon's most famous work, the *Nomoi*, at the beginning of the Turcocratia.[9] In the Preface to that dissertation, Anastos acknowledges the warm support of his parents: Anastos's father, a sugar broker and real estate entrepreneur from Cyprus, transcribed the Greek calligraphy into the final text, and his mother, whose roots were in Anatolian Isparta, verified the references to the classical sources like Strabo.[10] Anastos's dissertation researches spawned his sensational aforementioned thesis about the Byzantine rôle in the discovery of America (later published in the Grégoire Festschrift in 1952).[11] At the 1948 International Byzantine Congress in Brussels, Anastos delivered a well-argued paper on Plethon in such excellent French that Paul Lemerle's student Eurydice Lappa-Zizicas still recalled her surprise and delight in hearing it some thirty years later over tea in her flat in Paris.[12] She also acknowledged Milton's thoughtful insights about the letters of Theodore II Lascaris,

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7 Anastos, "Pletho, Strabo and Columbus," *Mélanges Henri Grégoire* 4 = *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves*, 12 (1952), repr. as Essay XVII in Anastos, *Studies in Byzantine Intellectual History* (*Variorum Reprints* [London, 1979]) (hereafter "Anastos *Variorum* I"), 1-18.

8 Anastos, *Studies in Pletho* (Unpublished Dissertation, Harvard University, Department of History, 1940), ii + 381 pp.

9 Anastos, "Pletho's Calendar and Liturgy," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 4 (1948), 188.

10 Anastos, *Studies in Pletho* (*supra*, n. 8), ii. On Anastos's parents, see the poignant obituary composed by Speros Vryonis, Jr., "Milton V. Anastos (10 July 1909 - 10 April 1997)," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 143.3 (1999), 445.

11 Anastos, "Le calendrier et la liturgie de Georges Gémiste Pléthon," *Actes du VIe Congrès internationale d'études byzantines* 1 (Paris, 1950), 207-19.

12 When I was a Fulbright Fellow there in the winter of 1978, working with Lemerle.

in whom she specialized;[13] apparently Anastos had simply sat down and casually read through the Festa edition of those difficult and important rhetorical productions[14] so he would be prepared to chat with her substantively about her work! Milton had such a voracious appetite for Ancient and Medieval Hellenism in the original that his most renowned student Speros Vryonis once spontaneously exclaimed in my presence after consulting our teacher that "Anastos has forgotten more about the Byzantine texts than most have ever learned!"[15]

Anastos required of his UCLA Ph.D. students in history that they take their qualifying examinations in Byzantine *and Late Antique* studies, regardless of what dissertation researches they envisioned; to him any compartmentalization of Hellenism before 1453 was at best artificial and counterproductive to scholarship.[16] Perhaps Anastos's position in that matter was grounded in his extraordinary knowledge of the transmission of texts and of textual tradition. His palaeographic skills, I might add, were legendary; one of the projects

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[13] Lappa-Zizikas' unpublished and published scholarly *oeuvre* on Theodore II is listed in John S. Langdon, *John III Ducas Vatatzes' Byzantine Imperium in Anatolian Exile, 1222-54* (Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1978; available through University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan), 562. Dr. Lappa-Zizikas generously shared her researches with me, thereby greatly facilitating my own work: Langdon, *Byzantium's Last Imperial Offensive in Asia Minor* (New Rochelle, New York, 1992), 61n.78.

[14] Ed. Nicholas Festa (Florence, 1898). I have urged their careful translation in my *Speculum* review (*vid.* Vol. 74.4 [1999], 1065) of Clive Foss, *Nicaea: A Byzantine Capital and Its Praises* (Brookline, Massachusetts, 1996).

[15] In the second year of my invaluable assignment as a Research Fellow for Anastos and Vryonis in the UCLA Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, during which I and their other assistants often witnessed the dynamic interplay between those two scholars.

[16] On his specific chronology for Byzantine civilization stretching back to the reign of Diocletian, see Anastos, "Some Reflections on Byzantine Culture" (*supra*, n. 2), 5. For him the most important aspects of Late Antique and Medieval Hellenism were the cultural dimensions of "art, law, and theology, in all of which Byzantium made contributions of permanent value and direct contemporaneous relevance": quoted from the author's Preface to the first volume of his reprinted studies in Anastos *Variorum* I (*supra*, n. 7), i.

he often urged upon his graduate students was a new edition, with translation and commentary, of the 2000-line Orthodox Homeric cento composed by Athenaïs-Eudocia, consort of Theodosius II.[17]

One of my earliest exposures to the formidable range of Anastos's erudition came when I read his aforementioned survey on Byzantine literature at the outset of graduate school: In the guise of a mere entry in the *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (1967), it spans 22-plus pages in two columns of tightly argued commentary on such topics as Byzantine satire, poetry, history, and theology.[18] Anastos off-handedly revealed to his students that he had learned German by translating Krumbacher into English in its entirety, and then produced the *cahiers* to verify that enterprise! Thereafter, once their location became known, they were quietly consulted from time to time. Anastos is synonymous, of course, with his as yet unpublished *magnum opus*, the *Mind of Byzantium*. A heretofore unpublished excerpt from it has been included as the last essay in the forthcoming second volume of Anastos's collected essays—to give historians an idea of the thrust of scholarly inquiry in MOB (the Anastasian acronym for the work);[19] the typescript of the complete unpublished manuscript, bristling with copious learned Anastasian marginal notes, reposes in four large file drawers in the remaining chamber of his study in Los Angeles. Its major rubrics, reflected in the innovative organization of the Anastos library when it was in Los Angeles and in the vast collection of bibliographical slips that he assembled over some fifty years to support his researches,[20] reveal a unique Anastasian perspective on Late Antiquity and Byzantium:

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17 On the *Homerocentones*, *vid.* now the interesting commentary of Kenneth G. Holum, *Theodosian Empresses* (Berkeley, California, 1982), 220 f.; also, Anastos, "Byzantine Literature" (*supra*, n. 4), 993.

18 Cited *supra*, n. 4; full pagination: 977-1000.

19 As Essay VIII (119 pp.) in Anastos *Variorum* II (*supra*, n. 3). On MOB as an acronym for the *Mind of Byzantium*, *vid.* Anastos, "Scholarship by Contrariety" (*supra*, n. 1), 9.

20 *Vid.* Vryonis *et al.*, "Memoirs of Fellows and Corresponding Fellows of the Medieval Academy of America: Milton V. Anastos" (*supra*, n. 1), 951.

- Political Theory: Pagan Greek, Christian, and Roman Legal Sources
- Roman Law and the Imperial Administration
- Survivals of Paganism down to the Fall of the Empire
- Constantinople and Rome: A Survey of the Relations between the Byzantine and the Roman Churches
- Christian Thought (including the Theology of the Seven Oecumenical Councils)
- Monasticism
- Art
- Literature
- Science
- Renaissance.[21]

To his students Anastos constantly stressed that the true *Mind of Byzantium* simply could not be understood without command of the Political Theory of Byzantine Absolutism, Law, and Theology,[22] where he strongly felt that Byzantine civilization made its greatest contributions to the modern global *polis*. Surveys, he asserted, that did not do justice to those topics presented a skewed picture of Byzantine civilization. My first exposure to Anastos *the teacher* was in his famed three-part yearlong lecture series at UCLA on Byzantine Civilization.[23] It featured substantial portions of MOB, and was further punctuated by insightful excursuses on ecclesiastical politics between the Sees of Constantinople and Rome, Byzantine literature,

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[21] The complete outline of MOB is included in the Appendix to this essay.

[22] On Law and Theology, *vid. supra*, n. 16. Stress on political theory of Byzantine absolutism based upon Greek political philosophy, the Roman law, and Christian elements: Anastos, "Byzantine Political Theory: Its Classical Precedents and Legal Ebodiment" (*supra*, n. 3), 13.

[23] Jointly offered at UCLA by the Departments of Classics and History; *vid. infra* n. 114. Anastos had the unusual distinction of holding full professorships at UCLA in both departments.

and Byzantium's rôle in the Italian Renaissance. Toward the end of the course—on May 29th or just after—sumptuous pastries were catered by Anastos to console his students for the tragic Halosis of 1453. In that enterprise he perhaps took his cue from his friend at Dumbarton Oaks, Alexander Vasiliev, who—we learn from a poignant Anastasian reminiscence about Vasiliev—used to burst into tears on the ill-omened day when relating the tragic event to *his* students.[24]

With virtually all of the texts at his fingertips in his private library, which came to number some 40,000 books complemented by another 7,000 or so offprints and articles,[25] Anastos demanded absolute accountability from his students for each of their theses through rigorous citation of the primary sources. His own footnotes are models of clarity and conciseness—calling attention, much like Vasiliev's notes, not only to the sources but to now-forgotten classic monographs, essays, and dissertations in an array of modern languages produced over the last two centuries, which we might otherwise overlook.[26] Anastos had a prodigious photographic memory,[27] and a special gift for *spoken* languages, delighting in

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[24] Anastos, "Dumbarton Oaks and Byzantine Studies, a Personal Account," *Byzantium: A World Civilization*, edd. Angeliki E. Laiou and Henry Maguire (Washington, 1992), 10. Anastos earlier authored an eloquent tribute to his respected friend entitled "Alexander A. Vasiliev: A Personal Sketch," *The Russian Review*, 13 (1954), 59-63.

[25] David Jenkins, "Bringing Byzantine Studies to Notre Dame" (*supra*, n. 6), 1 supersedes earlier estimates by Vryonis in his *Speculum* Memoir on Anastos (*supra*, n. 1), 951 and Langdon in his essay "Byzantium's Initial Encounter with the Chinggisids: An Introduction to the Byzantino-Mongolica," *Viator*, 29 (1998), 140.

[26] Two (among many) examples of footnotes illustrating Anastos's prodigious scholarly breadth can be found in a pair of his more recent essays: *cf.* Anastos, "Basil's *Κατὰ Εὐνομίου*: A Critical Analysis," *Basil of Caesarea: Christian, Humanist, Ascetic*, ed. Paul J. Fedwick (Toronto, 1981), repr. as Essay II in Anastos *Variorum* II (*supra*, n. 3), 67 f., n. 2, with *idem*, "Constantinople and Rome: A Survey of the Relations between the Byzantine and the Roman Churches," published as Essay VIII *ibid.*, 66 ff., n. 1

[27] Anastos could recite from memory the four Gospels of the New Testament in the Koine, as this wide-eyed student experienced!

addressing foreign visitors and telephone callers from Europe and the Mediterranean in their own tongues. In his contrariety to pseudo-scholarship practiced by what he sternly branded in his 1986 Haskins Lecture the school of "paradoxographers,"[28] Anastos challenged all to support their ideas first and foremost from the sources. This of course led to some rousing scholarly exchanges, arguably the most famous occurring at the 1991 UCLA Byzantinists' Colloquium with my friend Paul Speck, who had the audacity to challenge the credibility of a section of the *Liber Pontificalis*, into which Paul hypothesized that later interpolations had been added: the Anastasian cane was brandished at him, backed by a withering tirade of denunciations not only from Anastos but also from his close UCLA colleague Gerhard Ladner.[29] Anastos and Ladner, *en passant*, formed a complementary pair of specialists—respectively in Greek and Latin Late Antique intellectual history; each was very much at home in the other's specialty, which led to many friendly but animated dialogues, the last of which was during a very poignant Thanksgiving dinner in Westwood a few months before Gert's tragic passing in 1995; at that dinner Anastos's wife and I delighted in hearing the theological and intellectual sparrings of those two titans of Late Antiquity. *Inter alios*, Speros Vryonis, Bengt Löfstedt, Gustav von Grunebaum, Henrik Birnbaum, Lynn White, and, for a time, Gregory Sifakis—added to Anastos and Ladner—collectively made the UCLA Program in Medieval Studies of the late 1960s and early 1970s so luminous that Anastos was wont to dismay his old colleagues from Cambridge, Massachusetts and Dumbarton Oaks by proudly styling Harvard the "UCLA of the East."[30] That cadre of prominent UCLA scholars is

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[28] Anastos, "Scholarship by Contrariety" (*supra*, n. 1), 11-15.

[29] For an account of this episode, *vid.* Langdon, "John III Ducas Vatatzes and the Venetians: The Episode of his anti-Venetian Cretan Campaigns, 1230 and 1234," *Novum Millennium: Stuides on Byzantine History and Culture Dedicated to Paul Speck*, edd. Claudia Sode and Sarolta Takács (London, Ashgate, 2001), n. 18.

[30] On the extraordinary clustering of prominent Medieval scholars at UCLA in this period, under many of whom I had the privilege of studying, *vid.* the comments in Vryonis' APA Anastos obituary (*supra*, n. 10), 448 f.; *idem* in *Speculum*, 73.3 (July, 1998), 951. Harvard affectionately referred to as the

gone, but their legacy lingers in the Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies there, where the Anastasian legacy to UCLA is honored and revered by me and many others.[31]

Anastos's passion for collecting transcended his beloved books. His widow and colleague, Professor Rosemary Park (herself a distinguished past president of two colleges and at one time a Vice Chancellor of UCLA during the years of its explosive growth under Franklin Murphy's visionary stewardship), has until recently presided over a small but very fine collection of Archaic and Classical amphorae and other Greek pots in Westwood acquired in collaboration with her husband.[32] Anastos was also an avid numismatist, who periodically shepherded his graduate students over to his safe deposit boxes in Westwood to view and study what appeared to this awestruck graduate student to be mint-condition gold coins of virtually every Roman and Byzantine emperor, complemented by a bloc of beautiful Hellenistic coins replete with images of the various *diadochoi* of Alexander and their dynasties.[33]

"UCLA of the East": Anastos, "Scholarship by Contrariety" (*supra*, n. 1), 11. Of that fine group of scholars, only Löfstedt and Birnbaum remain—as *Emeriti.*

31 My warm thanks to Geoffrey Symcox for nominating me as a UCLA CMRS Associate, leading to my election in 1999—a great honor for this student of Anastos.

32 On Franklin Murphy's stewardship of UCLA and Rosemary Park's important part in his administration, refer again to the comments of Vryonis in the APA Proceedings for 1999 (*supra*, n 10), 448 f. Some of the more precious of the items in the collection are listed in the most recent Christie's, New York *Antiquities, Thursday 7 December 2000*, including Skyphoi Nos. 428, p. 70 and 432, p. 72; Amphorae Nos. 434, p. 74 and 435, p. 75; Lekythoi (pair) No. 437, p. 76; Amphoriskos No. 525, p. 122. This precious collection also contains a fine example of early Imperial Roman glass from Syria: *vid. ibid.*, p. 124.

33 I have perused Anastos's private inventory list of his priceless original collection, sold in the late 1970s to another prominent private collector; that collection contained gold coins representing virtually every Roman and Byzantine Emperor down to the Halosis of 1204 and several after that, together with some 55 rare coins struck by the dynasties of the *diadochoi* complemented by numerous others issued by various πόλεις during the Classical, Post-Classical, and Hellenistic periods. Steve L. Rubinger has paid warm tribute to Anastos's (and his wife Rosemary's) passion for collecting rare coins from Antiquity and the

Anastos, of course, marshaled impressive numismatic evidence against the "paradoxographers" who questioned the historical authenticity of Constantine's account of his conversion to Christianity related by Lactantius and Eusebius[34] and who were/are skeptical of "the incontrovertible fact" that Constantine promulgated the Edict of Toleration (*i.e.*, of Milan) in 313—as Anastos so aptly put it in his Haskins lecture.[35] After his retirement from his joint positions in History and Classics at UCLA in 1973, Milton reluctantly parted with most of those coins,[36] which fetched a king's ransom, to fund the continued expansion of his library. His friend Father Theodore M. Hesburgh, the then-President of Notre Dame, was instrumental in bringing about an agreement whereby the Anastos library would be transferred posthumously to South Bend as the centerpiece of a new locus of Byzantine Studies in the United States and an ongoing stipend would be provided to help maintain the library under Anastos's supervision during his lifetime,[37] which allowed Milton, to his great joy, to continue building the collection energetically right up until his death in 1997.

Byzantine world in a recent foreword to Antiqua, Inc.'s *Ancient Art and Numismatics Catalogue IX* (Woodland Hills, California, 2000), 1: "[Anastos's] first collection of Greek and Roman coins was sold . . . in the late 1970s. But he could not bear to be without his passion for long and began to assemble selected pieces in his second collection, which are now being offered here . . . Milton Anastos was a remarkable individual, a client, and a friend who would always brighten and enliven my day. I will sadly miss him." Rubinger's updated catalogue can be viewed on line: www.antiquainc.com.

[34] Anastos, "The Edict of Milan (313): A Defence of its Traditional Authorship and Designation," *Mélanges Venance Grumel* II = *Revue des études byzantines*, 25 (1967), 13-41, repr. as Essay II in Anastos *Variorum* I (*supra*, n. 7), and supplemented therein by the new Essay IIa, "Complementary Notes to 'The Edict of Milan,'" 7 pp.

[35] Anastos, "Scholarship by Contrariety" (*supra*, n. 1), 15.

[36] *Vid. supra*, n. 33.

[37] Fittingly the Milton V. Anastos Library of Byzantine Civilization will be shelved in Notre Dame's Hesburgh Library: *vid.* Jenkins, "Bringing Byzantine Studies to Notre Dame" (*supra*, n. 6), 1, who counts some 50 major journal runs in the Anastos Library which had not previously been part of the Notre Dame holdings and whose subscriptions are being kept current in their new location.

To support his grand vision for the completion and publication of MOB, Anastos and his team of research assistants at UCLA compiled—between his arrival in 1964 and his passing in 1997—some 250,000 bibliographical slips under 10,000 rubrics, based primarily upon his own private holdings, *sparingly* supplemented by those of the UCLA University Research Library, itself arguably the best in the West in Medieval and Renaissance studies. In his 1998 *Speculum* Memoir of Anastos, Vryonis has characterized Anastos's lifetime Herculean labors as revolving around "this scholarly triangle of library, bibliography, and ongoing composition of the *Mind of Byzantium* [which] fitted into a much larger framework of medieval studies, in the broader sense, that flourished at UCLA . . . "[38] Legend has it that, like one of his heroes, Justinian, Anastos was sleepless—often found pacing the stacks at Dumbarton Oaks until four in the morning during his tenure there over most of the period from 1941 until 1964—and doing much the same in his private library in Los Angeles thereafter.[39] In one noteworthy sitting Anastos read Plotinus's obscure *Enneads* from cover to cover in the Greek over an entire night as he relentlessly searched for (and found) an elusive Plotinus reference to Plato which he needed for citation in MOB! Arguably the most famous story about the extensive Anastasian bibliographical slip collection, though, was related by his Harvard College colleague I. Bernard Cohen[40]—later to be independently corroborated by John W. Barker during the aforementioned Byzantine Studies Conference session in 1998, at which the preliminary version of the current paper was first delivered at the University of Kentucky: It seems that, at the Widener Library

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[38] Vryonis *et al.*, "Memoirs of Fellows and Corresponding Fellows of the Medieval Academy of America: Milton V. Anastos" (*supra*, n. 1), 951.

[39] On Justinian as a sleepless daemon, see Procopius's *Secret History* 12, English transl. Richard Atwater (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1963), 64 f. I can attest to Anastos's accessibility in his library until the wee hours of the morning, where he could invariably be rung up on the telephone to answer, with characteristic generosity of his time and knowledge, various queries about things Late Antique and Byzantine.

[40] I. Bernard Cohen's reminiscences in his e-mail to Nicholas Goodhue, 1 November 1998.

in Cambridge, Milton had the habit (as did Cohen and everybody else) of carrying his notes and slips from place to place in a large box, and of setting it down on top of a wastebasket next to the desk at which he was working, because that receptacle was just the right height. Inevitably, one Friday evening when Milton was particularly tired he left his desk in the Widener and forgot to put away his precious research box, which, perched on a trash can, was duly disposed of by the janitorial staff over the weekend, along with the rest of what was deemed refuse. When this catastrophe was discovered early Monday morning, Milton and his scholarly circle immediately mounted a desperate expedition to the city dump, but, alas, had no luck in discovering the precious slips and other notes, despite wading through mounds of *real* refuse in a determined search. Anastos was so discouraged, Cohen relates, that he never again embarked upon the particular line of research contained in the lost slips, which enumerated and commented upon all of the Greek and Latin documents that had served as background for Columbus's voyage in 1492. There was at least one positive result of that tragic episode: A change in janitorial policy was duly instituted at the Widener which is still in effect to this day: Should a researcher wish a box of papers removed from a study alcove, he or she must place it *outside* in the corridor!

Anastos was noted for his camaraderie with a cadre of his mentors and collaborators at Harvard-Cambridge, at Harvard-Dumbarton Oaks, and at UCLA in Westwood. He had been groomed as a scholar by George LaPiana and Harry Wolfson under the watchful eye of the legendary Robert Blake.[41] Anastos later separately honored LaPiana and Wolfson with important scholarly contributions to their Festschriften, which were to serve as starting points for further scholarly inquiry—an essay on the onset of Iconoclasm for the

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[41] See Anastos's acknowledgments in the Preface to his 1940 Harvard Dissertation *Studies in Pletho* (*supra*, n. 8), i. On Wolfson in particular, for whom Anastos held an especially warm spot in his heart, see again his comments in "Scholarship by Contrariety" (*supra*, n. 1), 5.

former's in 1951[42] and an article on the ancient sources of Byzantine absolutism for the latter's in 1965.[43] Anastos had graduated *magna cum laude* from Harvard College in 1931, where he was the Latin orator for his class;[44] many years later he was to startle his audience at UCLA at the retirement party of Lynn White in 1970 at the Faculty Center with an extemporaneous Latin oration celebrating that noted educator's many achievements![45]

Thinking better of a fine start in the Harvard Law School in 1932,[46] Milton switched his attentions to theology and religious studies, graduating with an S.T.B. (*Scientiae theologicae baccalaureus*) *summa cum laude* from the Harvard Divinity School in 1935—before completing his Ph.D. in History in 1940, while concurrently editing the *Harvard Theological Review* and serving as the Divinity School's librarian (from 1935 to 1939).[47] Early in his career at Harvard, he provided valuable support in collating and translating Greek texts for Professors Arthur Darby Nock and Samuel Eliot Morrison, for which he received virtually no public acknowledgment[48]—which may account for his own ensuing lifelong

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[42] Anastos, "Church and State in the First Iconoclastic Controversy, 726-787," *Studi in onore di Georgio La Piana: Ricerche di storia religiosa*, I (Rome, 1951), 279-90.

[43] Anastos, "Ancient Greek Sources of Byzantine Absolutism," *Harry Austryn Wolfson Jubilee Volume on the Occcasion of his Seventy-Fifth Birthday*, Part I (Jerusalem, 1965), 89-109.

[44] Milton V. Anastos, Curriculum vitae (n.d.).

[45] Apparently Anastos performed this feat on more than one occasion: *vid.* Vryonis' APA Anastos obituary (*supra*, n. 10), 446.

[46] Anastos, "Scholarship by Contrariety" (*supra*, n. 1), 5. My obituary for Anastos as published in the *UCLA Historian*, 6 (Spring, 1997), 8 is incorrect in stating that Anastos held a law degree from Harvard.

[47] Milton V. Anastos, Curriculum vitae (n.d.). In addition to Harry Wolfson, Anastos acknowledges the debt he owed to Robert H. Pfeiffer for guiding him through the early years of his graduate program: Anastos, "Scholarship by Contrariety" (*supra*, n. 1), 5.

[48] Anastos makes allusion to that scholarly enterprise without mentioning the names of the scholars: *idem*, "Scholarship by Contrariety" (*supra*, n. 1), 5 f. Andrew R. Dyck mentions their names and the specific projects involved in the

scholarly generosity: He scrupulously refused to take the slightest credit for any of his own students' researches and historical insights; if anything, Anastos was almost generous to a fault in acknowledging the creative enterprise of his students and colleagues in enriching his own scholarship.[49]

Anastos's artful and perceptive dissertation—his personal copy of which, replete with careful annotations made later on, I have read—was the springboard for a fruitful Harvard career. The dissertation, to which I made earlier reference,[50] contains an insightful excursus on Plethon's *Nomoi* and later generated twin contributions to the 1948 volume of *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* on "Pletho's Calendar and Liturgy "[51] and on "Pletho and Islam,"[52] which together amount to a monograph of 125 pages of carefully argued scholarship. Recently Milton Jr., of whom his father was so proud by virtue of his service to our country in the Marine Corps, reminisced about his formative years in Cambridge, when his father was making his name at Harvard College.[53] Milt Jr. fondly remembers "Uncle Harry" Wolfson and his office in the Widener, stuffed with books "just like my father's."[54] Milt Jr. recalled how "Uncle Harry and Dad used to

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Prooimion to the *second* Festschrift for Anastos, *Presence of Byzantium: Studies Presented to Milton V. Anastos in Honor of his Eighty-Fifth Birthday*, edd. Andrew R. Dyck and Sarolta A. Takács = *Byzantinische Forschungen* 20 (1994), 5.

49 See, *inter multa alia*, his gracious acknowledgments of his students' assistance in Anastos, "Basil's Κατὰ Εὐνομίου: A Critical Analysis" (*supra*, n. 26), 67, introductory note; *idem*, "The Papal Legates at the Council of 861 and their Compliance with the Wishes of the Emperor Michael III," *Harmos: Timetikos tomos ston Kathegete N. K. Moutsopoulo*, I (Thessalonike, 1990), repr. as Essay VI in Anastos *Variorum* II (*supra*, n. 3), 185, introductory note; *idem*, "Byzantine Political Theory: Its Classical Precedents and Legal Embodiment" (*supra*, n. 3), 37, n. 1.

50 *Vid. supra*, nn. 8, 41.

51 *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 4 (1948), 185-269.

52 *Ibid.*, 270-305.

53 In my telephone interview with Milt Jr., 13 October 1998.

54 Milt Sr. also refers to Wolfson as "Uncle Harry": Anastos, "Scholarship by Contrariety" (*supra*, n. 1), 5.

take me out for ice cream treats in Cambridge, all the while heavily engaged in scholarly matters that transcended my youthful understanding." An evening meal with "Uncle George" LaPiana was a sumptuous occasion for young Milt too. I. Bernard Cohen relates that the elder Anastos ate lunch in the Harvard Faculty Club at a special table presided over by Wolfson, who regularly asked that Anastos and others read aloud the drafts of books he was composing so he could purge his manuscripts of "dissonances and infelicities."[55]

In 1941, by virtue of his outstanding academic record at Harvard, Anastos was appointed one of the first Research Fellows at the newly established Harvard Center for Byzantine Studies at Dumbarton Oaks in Georgetown,[56] where he was to reside for most of the ensuing period until he made his pioneering move to UCLA in 1964. At Dumbarton Oaks, as he assembled his own private library up at the Alban Towers across from the National Cathedral (where Irfan Shahid once also resided), he concurrently built the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library from the ground up,[57] particularly after World War II, when some magnificent private libraries came on the market and unprecedented buying opportunites materialized in Europe. His pride and joy, acquired for the Anastos Library during that period, was a complete set—save for Part 3 of Zonaras—of the Bonn Corpus in its original calfskin binding; much later, for his birthday in 1991, some of his students contrived to have a paperback copy of the wayward Zonaras volume "sumptuously bound" in calfskin to match the other volumes in the set, an undertaking which Milton delighted in acknowledging in his last published essay for the 1993 Vryonis Festschrift[58]—a powerful study which underscored the importance of events surrounding the accession of Michael IV as evidence that

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55 I. Bernard Cohen's e-mail to Nicholas Goodhue, 1 Novermber 1998.

56 Anastos, *loc. cit. supra*, n. 54, p. 8.

57 *Ibid.*

58 Anastos, "The Coronation of Emperor Michael IV in 1034 by Empress Zoe and its Significance," in *Τὸ Ἑλληνικόν : Studies in Honor of Speros Vryonis, Jr.*, edd. John S. Langdon, Stephen W. Reinert, *et al.*, I (New Rochelle, New York, 1993), repr. as Essay VII in Anastos *Variorum* II (*supra*, n. 3), 37, n. 2.

assuming the *Basileia* was *not* contingent upon Patriarchal coronation.

The lore of Anastos's long stay at Dumbarton Oaks, during which he rose to the rank of Research Professor of Byzantine Theology in the Harvard system in 1959, is punctuated by profound gratitude to the Blisses,[59] who so generously endowed that magnificent research center in our field, and especially to Milton's close colleagues there, Albert Mathias Friend and Father Francis Dvornik. Friend, as Director of Studies at Dumbarton Oaks, encouraged Milton mightily in undertaking MOB, and provided Anastos with a safe and quiet harbor for his work, offhandedly observing to his rising scholarly protégé on one occasion that "you can't get milk except from contented cows."[60] As for Dvornik, Milt Jr. reminisces about convivial dinners for which Dvornik produced his famous *sauce piquant*—later, Milt Jr. claims, improved by his own grandmother up at the Alban Towers, to Father Dvornik's great delight.[61] Long after, in Westwood, Stephen Reinert and I prepared this famous culinary delight under Milton's careful telephonic supervision, and we can

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59 Anastos, "Scholarship by Contrariety" (*supra*, n. 1), 8. Anastos composed a beautiful 10-page Minute in honor of Robert Woods Bliss that was read at the meeting of the Dumbarton Oaks Board of Scholars on 1 February 1963. In it he pays eloquent testimony to Bliss's close ties with the scholarly community at Dumbarton Oaks (Anastos, *Robert Woods Bliss, 1875-1962* [Dumbarton Oaks, n.d.], 10): "The same generosity which characterized Mr. Bliss's numerous benefactions marked his personal relations with the scholars and staff of Dumbarton Oaks. He was a gifted raconteur, and his wit sparkled with especial brilliance at the two annual anniversary luncheons in November and April. There was no more genial or unaffected host than he . . . " Two years later Mrs. Bliss made a special point of attending Anastos's final farewell party at Dumbarton Oaks in the late spring of 1964 before he moved to UCLA: Walter E. Kaegi, "Milton V. Anastos at Dumbarton Oaks: A Reminiscence," *Presence of Byzantium* (*supra*, n. 48), 7 f.

60 Anastos, "Dumbarton Oaks and Byzantine Studies, a Personal Account" (*supra*, n. 24), 8.

61 In my telephone interview of Milt Jr., 13 October 1998. Anastos, "Dumbarton Oaks and Byzantine Studies, a Personal Account" (*supra*, n. 24), 11 f. warmly describes Dvornik's "inimitable dinner parties" and the sumptuous if unvarying menu thereof.

report that the addition of a bay leaf at the crucial point in the production is the key to the sauce! Of course the two scholars—Anastos and Dvornik—were soulmates in their study of the Sees of Constantinople and Rome, about which they carried on a lively debate in great mutual respect.[62] One of Anastos's *tours de force* is his probing 1990 article revising Father Dvornik's conclusions about the Constantinopolitan Synod/Council of 861.[63] For the fiftieth anniversary of Dumbarton Oaks's foundation as a Harvard Depart-

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[62] Attested by Milt Jr. during my telephone interview of him on 13 October 1998. Anastos warmly acknowledged Father Dvornik's scholarship and timely assistance in two of his essays: "Political Theory in the Lives of the Slavic Saints Constantine and Methodius," *Harvard Slavic Studies*, 2 (1954), repr. as Essay V in Anastos *Variorum* I (*supra*, n. 7), 11, n. 2; "Leo III's Edict against the Images in the Year 726-27 and Italo-Byzantine Relations between 726 and 730," *Polychordia: Festschrift Franz Dölger*, ed. Peter Wirth, III (Amsterdam, 1968) = *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 3 (1968), repr. as Essay VIII in Anastos *Variorum* I, 5, n. 1. On the other hand, Anastos disagreed completely with aspects of Dvornik's scholarship about the Photian Schism, as he explicitly states in his introductory note to his essay "The Papal Legates at the Council of 861 and their Compliance with the Wishes of the Emperor Michael III" (*supra*, n. 49), on p. 200 of which he eloquently and convincingly forwards his thesis that "it is clear that the primacy of Rome and papal claims to overlordship of the entire Church were never at issue in 861. Michael's slight concessions to Rome were, as we have seen, of little or no significance and were designed to secure against the Pope's will a papal confirmation of the Byzantine Council of 859 which had condemned and deposed Ignatius . . . no one, as far as I can determine, has understood that these anathematizations [of Radoald and Zachariah] completely demolish Dvornik's extravagant and unfounded claims about what he thought was a great papal victory at the Council of 861." On the unique and quite distinctive perspectives of the two scholars in the parallel scholarship of (i) Anastos's posthumous 119-page monograph, "Constantinople and Rome: A Survey of the Relations between the Byzantine and the Roman Churches," forthcoming as Essay VIII in Anastos *Variorum* II (*supra*, n. 3), and (ii) Dvornik's *Byzantium and the Roman Primacy* (English trans. Edwin A. Quain, New York, 1966), *vid.* the Editors' Note to Essay VIII in the former publication. For understanding the differing perspectives of Roman Catholicism and Orthodoxy, *Byzantium and the Roman Primacy* is an ideal foil for the earlier-authored "Constantinople and Rome."

[63] "The Papal Legates at the Council of 861 and their Compliance with the Wishes of the Emperor Michael III" (*supra*, n. 49), 185-200 (full pagination).

ment and in grateful memory of the Blisses, who took such a personal interest in young Anastos, Milton delivered, at a 1990 Dumbarton Oaks symposium of American luminaries in our field, his personal account of the history of that hallowed institution which paid tribute to the Blisses' "endowment . . . of such magnitude as to deserve a special niche in the history of philanthropy."[64]

Anastos would from time to time, during his Dumbarton Oaks years, return to Cambridge, Massachusetts to teach for a semester at the Harvard Divinity School, where he rose to the rank of Visiting Professor of Church History (1959-64).[65] While in residence in Cambridge, Massachusetts he had a hand in training a number of noted scholars—*inter alios* David Pingree, and his most noted student of all, Speros Vryonis.[66] Vryonis was a new graduate student at Cambridge during the 1951/52 Academic Year, when Anastos fired his imagination with lectures and seminars on Byzantine civilization and spent countless hours personally guiding Vryonis's graduate studies. Speros recalls that the other arbiters of the field at Harvard like Robert Lee Wolff were unapproachable for the novice graduate student in Cambridge, Massachusetts (as the legendary J. B. Bury

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64 Anastos, "Dumbarton Oaks and Byzantine Studies, a Personal Account" (*supra*, n. 24), 5.

65 Anastos, Curriculum vitae (n.d.). For a summary of the academic positions held by Anastos during his distinguished career, *vid.* Andrew R. Dyck's Prooimion to the *second* Festschrift for Anastos, *Presence of Byzantium* (*supra*, n. 48), 1.

66 In a telephone interview on 14 October 1998, Vryonis spoke warmly of Anastos's careful nurturing of his interest in Byzantine civilization when Vryonis was a beginning graduate student at Harvard during Academic Year 1951/52; later Anastos took a keen interest in Vryonis's dissertation researches when the latter was a Junior Fellow at Dumbarton Oaks, 1954-56. Milton in turn graciously acknowledged "Speros Vryonis, whom I am proud to claim as my most distinguished Harvard student": Anastos, "The Coronation of Emperor Michael IV in 1034 by Empress Zoe and its Significance" (*supra*, n. 58), 23. In his e-mail to Nicholas Goodhue of 1 November 1998, I. Bernard Cohen attests to the keen interest Anastos took in the scholarly development of David Pingree, whom he strove mightily to keep at Harvard after Pingree earned the Ph.D., only to see his charge move to Brown University; Anastos often championed the Orientalist Pingree's careful scholarship during the former's UCLA years.

had initially been for Sir Steven Runciman during the latter's formative years as a Byzantinist in Cambridge, England)—but that Milton, by contrast, always found time over and above the classes he taught to share his expertise on the enterprise of Hellenism with Vryonis by reading texts and analyzing historical problems.[67] Anastos's generosity of spirit and with his precious time was later much in evidence when I began graduate school in 1969: Milton carefully tracked the progress of his graduate students—eight were to earn the Ph.D. in History and in Patristics under his aegis at UCLA;[68] once a week he insisted that we graduate students march down from his office in Bunche Hall to Hershey Hall, the former girls' dormitory at UCLA, with him and Vryonis for luncheon; later the weekly venue shifted to Clifton's cafeteria in Century City, where he could revel in that establishment's hot turkey sandwich, served with copious amounts of gravy and cranberry sauce, while regaling us with tales about the twentieth-century personalities like Ostrogorsky, Dölger, Lemerle, and Vasiliev who have so shaped our field.[69]

Vryonis speaks with great warmth about Anastos, who encouraged him mightily in the completion of his ground-breaking dissertation—on the eleventh-century struggle between the Constantinopolitan elite and the provincial magnates[70]—at Dumbarton Oaks in 1955. In

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[67] Vryonis's comments were made during my telephone interview with him, 14 October 1998. Runciman's humorous account of how he finally, through sheer tenacity, developed a fruitful relationship with the reluctant Bury is related by the former in his poignant video *Bridge to the East* (Amaranthos Films, London, 1987).

[68] Listed, with the titles of their dissertations, in *Presence of Byzantium* (*supra*, n. 48), 17.

[69] Anastos had earlier been noted as a "lively raconteur of many past incidents at Harvard and Dumbarton Oaks . . . He regaled us with such stories at lunch in the [Dumbarton Oaks] Fellows Building . . .": Walter E. Kaegi, "Milton V. Anastos at Dumbarton Oaks: A Reminiscence," in *Presence of Byzantium* (*supra*, n. 48), 7.

[70] *Vid. supra*, n. 66. Speros Vryonis, Jr., *The Internal History of Byzantium during the "Time of Troubles" (1057-81)* (Dissertation, Harvard University, Department of History, 1956).

particular, Anastos had by that time carefully catalogued all save the Slavic section of the library he had been so instrumental in assembling there,[71] so that it was (and continues to be) a joy to consult and use under his successor Irene Vaslef. Harvard Professor Emeritus I. Bernard Cohen remembers with relish Milton's guest lectures on Medieval Hellenic Science in his History of Science course, during Anastos's periodic forays back up to Cambridge;[72] their common mentor in that field was George Sarton, who stimulated Milton's interest in Byzantine science and mathematics. Anastos, knowing my baccalaureate training at Annapolis as a mechanical engineer and mathematician, at one stage urged me to delve into Pachymeres' *Quadrivium*, but I had had a sufficient dose of that author's "archaizing style"—which is so "notoriously difficult to comprehend," as Alice-Mary Talbot puts it[73]—from his *Syngraphikai Historiai* to be dissuaded from what Milton regarded as a "relatively straightforward" text. Cohen, *en passant*, has recently published the first translation *de novo* in some two hundred years of

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71 Anastos's pivotal role in building up the Dumbarton Oaks Library is acknowledged by Vryonis in his APA Anastos obituary (*supra*, n. 10), 447. During the aforementioned telephone interview of 14 October 1998 Vryonis especially praised Anastos for his careful cataloguing of the Byzantine holdings at Dumbarton Oaks. On Anastos's keen interest in developing the Dumbarton Oaks Library, *cf.* his own comments in his essay "Scholarship by Contrariety" (*supra*, n. 1), 8. On the subsequent careful cataloguing of the Slavic holdings there by George Soulis, Dumbarton Oaks's Librarian 1957-62, *vid.* the editor's introduction to *George Soulis, 1927-1966: Historical Studies—Byzantina, Balcanica, Neohellenica*, ed. Speros Vryonis, Jr. (Athens, 1980), x. With sadness I note the recent passing of Soulis' esteemed successor as the Dumbarton Oaks Slavic bibliographer, Jelisaveta Stanojevich Allen, a friend of the Anastoses.

72 I. Bernard Cohen's e-mail to Nicholas Goodhue, 1 November 1998: "He brought a vivid enthusiasm to the subject [of the science and culture of Byzantium] which brought the material alive to the students."

73 Talbot, "Pachymeres, George," *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. Alexander Kazhdan (Oxford, 1991), III, 1550, with reference to critical edd. of Pachymeres' works.

Newton's *Principia*; his copy editor was none other than Anastos's UCLA student and librarian, Nicholas Goodhue.[74]

Mention has been made of Anastos's flair for languages. While on a Senior Fulbright Fellowship in the mid-1950s based at the American Academy in Rome, he was at one point upbraided by an irate policeman for *pretending* to be an American: "How," asked the officer of law (in Italian), "could you claim to be an American when your Italian is so flawless?"—whereupon Anastos produced one document after another in an initially vain but ultimately successful effort to persuade the policeman to overlook his violation of the traffic law in question![75] Anastos also had a fine sense of smell, which may account for his passion for good food: On one outing with his son in Rome he turned to Milt Jr. and exclaimed "I distinctly smell garlic; (Silvio Giuseppe) Mercati must be behind us"—and sure enough he was! [76] Anastos later honored Mercati by contributing to Mercati's 1957 Festschrift a probing essay on the transfer of Illyricum, Calabria, and Sicily to Patriarchal jurisdiction at the onset of the Iconoclastic epoch.[77]

Anastos had earlier visited the Munich Byzantine seminar at the invitation of Franz Dölger, where he addressed his audience in able German. In 1968 he contributed another important and highly detailed essay on the advent of Iconoclasm to the Dölger

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[74] Isaac Newton, *The Principia: Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy*, a new translation by I. Bernard Cohen and Anne Whitman, assisted by Julia Budenz, preceded by a Guide to Newton's *Principia* by I. Bernard Cohen (Berkeley, 1999). Mr. Goodhue's warm and unstinting support was instrumental in the completion of the current "Pioneer" essay presented herein.

[75] As related by Milt Jr. during the aforementioned telephone interview on 13 October 1998.

[76] *Ibid.*

[77] Anastos, "The Transfer of Illyricum, Calabria, and Sicily to the Jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople in 732-33," *Silloge Bizantina in onore di Silvio Giuseppe Mercati = Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, 9 (1957), repr. as Essay IX in Anastos *Variorum* I (*supra*, n. 7), 14-31.

Festschrift.[78] His survey of "Iconoclasm and Imperial rule" in Volume IV, Part 1 of the second edition of the *Cambridge Medieval History* was an important step in setting the stage for the scholarly reevaluation of that epoch which has followed; that essay is accompanied by an extensive and invaluable bibliography on Iconoclasm.[79] I was the beneficiary, many years later, of the close relationship Anastos had established with Paul Lemerle, who took me under his wing at the Collège de France during my own Fulbright there in 1978,[80] volunteering that Anastos not only spoke excellent French but probably knew as much as anyone else about the holdings of the *Cabinet des Medailles* except its curator! When I undertook my dissertation on Byzantium in Anatolian exile, Milton directed that I first get clearance from "my dear friend Paul Lemerle."[81] Years later, a visit to a local Greek ἑστιατόριον in Los Angeles was occasion for Milton to astonish native-speaking waiters from Greece with his broad control of the καθαρεύουσα, which he embellished with copious use of obscure Metabyzantine forms, prompting one wide-eyed waiter from Nauplion to exclaim "This is history alive!"[82] From a stint as a tutor in Havana during the height of the Depression,[83] he delighted in mimicking Cuban disc jockeys he had

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78 Anastos, "Leo's Edict against the Images in the Year 726-27 and Italo-Byzantine Relations between 726 and 730" (*supra*, n. 62), 4-41.

79 Anastos, "Iconoclasm and Imperial Rule, 717-842," *Cambridge Medieval History*, IV.1, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1966), 61-104, 835-48.

80 Along with Lemerle, Gilbert Dagron was a warm host during my stay in Paris. Clive Foss, a visiting lecturer that year in Lyons, also helped in many ways to make my residency in Paris a success.

81 I have saved that treasured letter, which inaugurated my investigations of John III Ducas Vatatzes as a dissertation topic in 1973.

82 On July 16th, 1988 during festivities connected with Speros Vryonis's going-away party marking his move to NYU from UCLA. The venue was a lively and excellent eatery in Hancock Park (Los Angeles), *Le Petit Greek*, Thomas and Demetrios Mandalis proprietors.

83 Apparently after his graduation from Harvard College with an A.B., *magna cum laude*, June 1931, Milton traveled to Havana, where he tutored students in, of all things, mathematics, for a time, while pursuing his passion for tennis in his leisure hours: Telephone conversation with Milt Jr., 20 December 2000.

heard on the radio. Milton's 1970 seminar students at UCLA, I might add, not only had to concern themselves with interpreting Zosimus, Athanasius, *et al.*, but had to do so under the painstaking scrutiny to which Anastos, outfitted with his hallmark croupier's visor (eyeshade), subjected their English style and grammar as they rendered their interpretations of the Hellenic texts.[84] Like Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Anastos's published *oeuvre* is characterized by magisterial prose—but in Anastos's case in the most straightforward of styles.[85]

By now one should not be surprised to learn that Anastos was a singularly loving and caring family man. Milt Jr. verifies, though,

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[84] For his trademark visor, Anastos preferred the classic translucent green so as to mitigate the glare of the fluorescent lights in the UCLA classrooms. One of the great adventures of his graduate assistants occurred in December 1973 during the annual hunt for a Christmas present for our mentor: We found ourselves down at the local racetrack searching for replacement visors, which we happily located, to Anastos's great delight! Apparently, he had started the practice of wearing the eyeshade during his years at Dumbarton Oaks: Walter E. Kaegi, "Milton V. Anastos at Dumbarton Oaks: A Reminiscence," *Presence of Byzantium* (*supra*, n. 48), 7. On one occasion in Academic Year 1972-73 Anastos was asked to teach a graduate course on Demosthenes' orations, during which he sent the terrified classicists scurrying for reference materials with an off-handed reference to the introductions to various of Demosthenes' works produced by Gregory of Corinth, whom he assumed they had carefully studied in preparation for the reading! On another, during a memorable reading of Zosimus's commentary on Constantius II in the Byzantine seminar, a hushed silence followed the breaking of the binding of the Mendelssohn Teubner edition of that author by one of the participants, when Anastos exclaimed at the terrified graduate student (viz., *me!*), "You have hurt one of my children!" A long, patriarchal lecture followed on the proper care of books, after which I did penance by oiling and reconditioning literally hundreds of older books in the Anastos library.

[85] I quote Anastos's last published words at the end of his contribution to the Vryonis Festschrift, "The Coronation of Emperor Michael IV in 1034 by Empress Zoe and its Significance" (*supra*, n. 58), 36: "Furthermore, usurpers like John I Tzimiskes (969-976), for example, who had risen to power by adultery and murder, were thus enabled to hide their guilt under a cloak of patriarchal blessings, while the legitimate successors to the throne, on the other hand, could bask complacently, if not self-righteously, in the light of their own piety and rejoice in the customary references to the heavenly origin of their royal commission."

that his father could be a stickler for intellectual discipline: During his stay in Rome with his father between High School and Harvard College, Milt Jr. had to produce an extensive weekly paper on the monuments and art of Rome, which was then rigorously evaluated by his father.[86] Son was also subjected by Father to daily brisk walks up the Janiculum to discuss the day's events in Rome in the peripatetic manner on the way to supper at the American Academy—much as breathless UCLA research students later endured equally brisk walks up the hill off of Hilgard Avenue to campus through that university's botanical gardens, during which they were relentessly quizzed on the proper Latin and Greek *termini technici* for the *flora* therein![87] Milton's family of potted cacti still fills the balcony of his widow's twenty-first floor Westwood apartment overlooking his beloved UCLA, the residence where he spent his last pleasant years.[88] I have a vivid picture of a nurturing Milton Anastos at age eighty-six sitting up all night at the UCLA Hospital with his wife, who had just courageously undergone a complicated surgical procedure to replace a hip. They had found each other later in life after their scholarly reputations were firmly established;[89] rarely have

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[86] These events would have occurred during their stay in Europe while Milt Sr. held concurrent Guggenheim and Fulbright Research Fellowships in 1954-55. Anastos's numerous awards and honors are summarized in Dyck's Prooimion to the *second* Festschrift for Anastos, *Presence of Byzantium* (*supra*, n. 48), 5.

[87] Thus I became acquainted with the family of Second Declension Latin nouns which are feminine.

[88] When Anastos relocated from Hilgard Avenue to new quarters on Wilshire in Westwood in the early 1980s, moving of the cacti by his graduate assistants rivalled orderly transfer of oceans of books to their new venue. I shall never forget the mishandling of a giant barrel cactus (whose Latin name eludes me at the moment!), which fell over, rolled down the hallway, and then proved virtually impossible to repot because of its razor-sharp thorns. Eventually we did solve this complex engineering problem.

[89] Rosemary Park Anastos is a distinguished educator in her own right: She is past President of Connecticut College and Barnard College, and a former Vice-Chancellor of UCLA. On their marriage in 1965, a year after the start of Anastos's tenure at UCLA, and the importance of their teamwork in shaping dimensions of academic life there, *vid.* Speros Vryonis' APA Anastos obituary (*supra*, n. 10), 449.

I seen such devotion in a couple, who so completely trusted each other and respected each other's scholarly work—that served as an inspiration to us all.

An avid baseball fan in his younger years, Anastos often played catch with his son. Milt Jr. remembers vividly their attending a Summer 1950 game at Yankee Stadium, and afterwards celebrating the lopsided Yankee victory, whose outcome was determined by the heroics of Joe DiMaggio, with a trip to Caruso's for pasta—passionately his father's favorite dish.[90] We students at Harvard and UCLA were adopted members of Milton's family too: At least monthly, in supplement to the more frequent luncheons I have mentioned, we would be invited for dinner by the Anastoses and taken to a luxurious eatery at our professor's expense;[91] he would always insist upon being the host, humbly entreating us in recompense to repay him by being hospitable to *our* own students in the future. Anastos understood profoundly the struggles of his students in the formative years of their careers, and always looked to the future with an optimism born of his devotion to young people and to Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who had "restored the faith of the common man" in some of our darkest hours as a nation during the Depression.[92] Anastos was intensely proud to be an American: If Hellenism resonated in his mind, the patriotic lore of America resonated *κατὰ Θυμόν*. Recollections of the bravery of the Twentieth Maine at Gettysburg or Third Marines at Iwo Jima would evoke tears of pride in this shy polymath. When his maternal uncle George Spartalis became infirm with age, Milton marshaled all of the financial and legal resources at his disposal to have this esteemed relative transferred from New York to the auspices of the Veterans'

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[90] My telephone interview of Milt Jr., 13 October 1998.

[91] On these expeditions to a spectrum of local restaurants, see Vryonis's nostalgic comments in his introduction to *Aspects of the Mind of Byzantium: Political Theory, Theology, and Ecclesiastical Relations with the See of Rome* (*supra*, n. 3), xiii f.

[92] The quote comes from the aforementioned telephone interview with Milt Jr., *supra*, n. 90, but I myself heard similar statements on many occasions.

Administration in West Los Angeles, California[93]—for, as Milton said, "What would have become of my entire family if my uncle had not so resolutely defended our freedom against the Kaiser's imperialism?"[94] Each afternoon, Milton would get on the Wilshire Boulevard bus to visit that maternal relative; when Uncle George left this world, Milton and all of us students were at the Veterans' Administration cemetery in Brentwood to celebrate this brave soldier with the full military honors to which he was entitled. Milton was, above all else, a patriot and a liberal, who passionately believed in the activist rôle of government to ameliorate the suffering of the poor and to promote social justice. Vryonis, in the *first* Anastos Festschrift in 1985, poignantly pays tribute to Anastos as "a wise and democratic man."[95] Anastos was proud of his service to the nation during World War II, when he interrupted his researches at Dumbarton Oaks to work in the Special Intelligence Division of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), heading its Greek Desk.[96]

Anastos's lifelong habit of hard work produced some truly outstanding examples of systematic and thorough scholarship, to several of which I have already referred. There is a wonderful overview by Andrew Dyck in the editor's Prooimion to the *second* Anastos Festschrift in 1994 of some of the high points of Anastos's published *oeuvre*.[97] I would call particular attention to several of the other jewels of scholarly enterprise by this pioneer of Byzantine

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[93] That branch of Milton's family hailed from Isparta in Asia Minor before immigrating to the USA. In the summer of 1990 I visited the sad ruins of the former Greek quarter of that city, which is famed for its roses, and brought back a number of photographs to share with Milton.

[94] George Spartalis bravely served on the Western Front in World War I—first as an ambulance driver and then in the infantry; he was decorated with the *Croix de Guerre*.

[95] In the Preface to the first Anastos Festschrift, *Byzantine Studies in Honor of Milton V. Anastos*, ed. Speros Vryonis, Jr. (Malibu, 1985) = *Byzantina kai Metabyzantina*, 4 (1985), x.

[96] Anastos, "Scholarship by Contrariety" (*supra*, n. 1), 9 f.

[97] *Presence of Byzantium: Studies Presented to Milton V. Anastos in Honor of his Eighty-Fifth Birthday* (*supra*, n. 48), 1-6, *passim*, with accompanying bibliography, pp. 11-16.

scholarship in America which I consider to have had the greatest effect on the development of our study of Late Antique and Byzantine Hellenism in the twentieth century: Anastos was a masterful scholar of patristics and theology. In 1962 he contributed an important essay to the *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* exhaustively demonstrating that Nestorius was theologically just as Orthodox as his *bête noir* Cyril of Alexandria.[98] In 1981 he produced an extensive analysis of Basil of Caesarea's *Contra Eunomium* for the Pontifical Institute of Toronto of 109 pages;[99] that in turn generated a brilliant polemical follow-up essay on Basil's lapses into Arianism for the 1988 Joan Hussey Festschrift.[100] There are eight learned Anastasian contributions on the theology and geopolitics of Iconoclasm—the more important of which I have already cited.[101] The extraordinary range of Anastos's scholarly contacts is underscored by important contributions to still other Festschriften of prominent Byzantinists who have shaped the field in the twentieth century: To honor Georg Ostrogorsky in 1964, Anastos clearly outlined Justinian's despotic control of the Church (and the Roman Popes), dispelling previously-held illusions on that matter.[102] To honor Valence Grumel in 1967, Milton produced a

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98 Anastos, "Nestorius Was Orthodox," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 16 (1962), repr. as Essay VI in Anastos *Variorum* I (*supra*, n. 7), 117-40.

99 Anastos, "Basil's *Κατὰ Εὐνομίου* a Critical Analysis" (*supra*, n. 26), 67-136.

100 Anastos, "Basil's Lapses into Arianism and how Athanasius had Avoided them," in *Καθηγήτρια: Essays Presented to Joan Hussey for her 80th Birthday* (Camberley, Surrey, Eng., 1988), repr. as Essay V in Anastos *Variorum* II (*supra*, n. 3), 153-71.

101 *Vid. supra*, text and nn. 42, 77, 78, 79. Others include Anastos, "Note on Iconoclasm," BZ 47 (1954), 244; *idem*, "The Ethical Theory of Images in the Iconoclastic Councils of 754 and 815," Dumbarton Oaks Papers, 8 (1954), repr. as Essay XI in Anastos *Variorum* I (*supra*, n. 16), 151-6; *idem*, "The Argument for Iconoclasm as Presented by the Iconoclastic Council of 754," *Studies in Honor of A.M. Friend, Jr.* , ed. Kurt Weitzmann (Princeton, 1955), repr. as Essay X in Anastos *Variorum* I, 177-88.

102 Anastos, "Justinian's Despotic Control over the Church as Illustrated by his Edicts on the Theopaschite Formula and his Letter to Pope John II in 533," *Zbornik Radova* 8 (1964) = *Mélanges G. Ostrogorsky* II, repr. as Essay IV in Anastos *Variorum* I (*supra*, n. 7), 1-11.

ringing defense of the authenticity of the Edict of Milan,[103] which he followed up with later commentary in his 1986 Haskins lecture, to which I have already several times made reference.[104] To honor Harry Caplan in 1966, Milton wrote a careful essay on Porphyry's Neoplatonic philosophy.[105] For Stilpon Kyriakides's 1953 *Prosphora*, he compared the views of Aristotle and Cosmas Indicopleustes on cosmography[106]—one of two essays he authored on that famed Byzantine sailor.[107] The first part of the unpublished MOB deals in depth with the precedents for Byzantine absolutism—found in the Hellenic tradition of Plato and Aristotle, in Eusebius, and in the Roman law. A preliminary version of that section of MOB, constituting 41 pages, was published in the Vryonis-edited *Byzantina kai Metabyzantina* series in 1978.[108] Here one tastes the profundity of the Anastasian model of Late Antique and Byzantine intellectual history. I am reminded that Anastos has published other probing essays on Late Antique and Byzantine political theory, most notably (1) his exhaustively documented article for the 1975 Morton Smith Festschrift on the history of the election and coronation of the Byzantine Emperor entitled "Vox populi voluntas Dei,"[109] and (2) his

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103 Anastos, "The Edict of Milan (313): A Defence of its Traditional Authorship and Designation" (*supra*, n. 34).

104 *Vid. supra*, *inter alia*, text and nn. 28, 35.

105 Anastos, "Porphyry's Attack on the Bible," *The Classical Tradition: Literary and Historical Studies in Honor of Harry Caplan*, ed. Luitpold Wallach (Ithaca, New York, 1966), repr. as Essay XIII in Anastos *Variorum* I (*supra*, n. 7), 421-50.

106 Anastos, "Aristotle and Cosmas Indicopleustes on the Void: A Note on Theology and Science in the Sixth Century," *Προσφορὰ εἰς Στίλπωνα Π. Κυριακίδην* = *Ελληνικά*, 4 (1953), repr. as Essay XIV in Anastos *Variorum* I (*supra*, n. 7), 35-50.

107 Together with Anastos, "The Alexandrine Origin of the *Christian Topography* of Cosmas Indicopleustes," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 3 (1946), repr. as Essay XIII in Anastos *Variorum* I (*supra*, n. 7), 75-80.

108 Anastos, "Byzantine Political Theory: Its Classical Precedents and Legal Embodiment" (*supra*, n. 3), 13-53.

109 Anastos, "Vox populi voluntas Dei and the Coronation of the Byzantine Emperor," *Christianity, Judaism, and Other Greco-Roman Cults: Studies for*

incisive 1954 essay "Political theory in the lives of the Slavic Saints Constantine and Methodius."[110] As enumerated above, many of Anastos's more important pieces of scholarship have been gathered together in a 1979 Variorum Reprint volume;[111] many of the remainder have been gathered in a second forthcoming Variorum volume slated for release in 2001, in which is included a heretofore-unpublished, extensive excerpt from MOB entitled "Constantinople and Rome: A Survey of the Relations between the Byzantine and the Roman Churches"—so as to bring some of Anastos's profound findings therein to the attention of the wider scholarly community.[112] The second particular portion of MOB which I have urged be edited and published is Anastos's powerful and extensive analysis of the theology of the Seven Oecumenical Councils—stressing the *Byzantine* perspective on that major historical dynamic in contradistinction to the Roman Catholic.[113] Anastos was an absolute genius at systematizing and organizing complex intellectual, ecclesiastical, and legal currents in our field—as scores of undergraduate students at Harvard and UCLA learned over the years. Some of his later offerings at UCLA attracted up to 100 undergraduate students thirsty for the intellectual history of Byzantium and for intellectual clarity[114]—among those were future

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Morton Smith at Sixty, ed. Jacob Neusner, II = *Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity*, 12 (1975), repr. as Essay III in Anastos *Variorum* I (*supra*, n. 7), 181-207.

110 In *Harvard Slavic Studies*, 2 (1954), repr. as Essay V in Anastos *Variorum* I (*supra*, n. 7), 11-38.

111 Anastos *Variorum* I (*supra*, n. 7). *Vid. supra* nn. 7, 16, 19, 26, 34, 49, 58, 62, 77 f., 98, 100 ff., 105 ff., 109 f.

112 Anastos *Variorum* II (*supra*, n. 3). *Vid. supra* nn. 3, 19, 26, 49, 58, 62, 100.

113 In the preliminary version of this paper delivered at the 1998 Byzantine Studies Conference at the University of Kentucky, 5-8 November, 1998; *vid. supra* n. 1.

114 Particularly well-subscribed was Anastos's quarter-long, joint Lower Division Classics and History offering, *Survey of Medieval Greek Culture* (M70). Also renowned was his three-quarter Upper Division Classics and History survey in Byzantine Civilization: *Political Theory, Roman Law, and Conflicts with*

doctors, historians, actors, athletes, *et al.*, together with many a curious law student craving the experience of hearing such a legendary polymath, whose largely self-taught knowledge of American legal history rivalled his understanding of the Roman law and of the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*.[115] And, I might add, one had to work hard to achieve a high grade in Anastos's courses; but what I and many others always appreciated was knowing that, if one did labor in the vineyards of Byzantine culture, he or she could succeed handsomely on Anastos's assessments, which were always inclusive and fair in measuring what a student should carry away from his lectures and the assigned readings. That, of course, is the true measure of a great teacher—the ability to *empower* and *inspire* those eager to learn, regardless of their diverse backgrounds. As a professional teacher myself, I have come to value deeply that Anastasian legacy.

Down to the end of his life, Milton remained deeply committed to his field. I have already made reference to two important essays of his dating to 1990 and 1993, which made meaningful and profound contributions to theology and to political theory.[116] Surely now I have spoken in sufficient detail to celebrate the rôle of Milton V. Anastos as a true pioneer of Late Antique and Byzantine intellectual

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Paganism (145A); *Theology and Relations with Rome* (145B); *Literature, Art, Science, and the Renaissance* (145C). On Anastos's strong commitment to teaching, *vid. idem*, "Scholarship by Contrariety" (*supra*, n. 1), 16: " . . . we are bound to keep in mind that our chief function is to disseminate the fruit of our researches not only by original works of scholarship but also by instruction as presented to our students. Our lectures should in a real sense enlighten them by giving them more than the mere facts and information. We must remember Thomas Jefferson's ideal of public education and seek in all of our teaching by form and manner, if not in actual words or precepts, to remind our students of the scope and ideals of a free society of which we are among the principal custodians."

115 Anastos started in the Harvard Law School but switched to the graduate program in the Harvard Divinity School, earning the S.T.B. *summa cum laude* in 1935 and then the Ph.D. in Byzantine History in 1940: *idem*, "Scholarship by Contrariety" (*supra*, n. 1), 5-8. On Anastos's ongoing deep interest in the law, *vid. ibid.*, 16 f.

116 *Vid. supra* nn. 49, 58.

history and culture in his country—whose productive scholarly career spanned more than a half century. How, in such a short essay, can I possibly do full justice to this courageous polymath, who so worthily celebrated the twin pillars of his life: the heritage of Hellenism and the glory of the American experience? While he never forgot his Hellenic roots, he was very proud to be a part of our great nation. Others, who have lost faith in the nobility of the human condition in America, could learn much from such a special human being, to whom I and many others owe so much. If Milton were here now, he would ask that—among an array of distinguished students and colleagues who rose above "the relentless pursuit of mediocrity"—I remember his deceased student Lowell Clucas of the University of Pennsylvania, who produced an important monograph on John Italos before his untimely death;[117] that I honor the talented Late Antique specialist Karl Squitier, who has made such a meaningful contribution to scholarship through the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* project at the University of California Irvine;[118] that I congratulate his fine student of Roman legal history, John R. Johnson, who has risen to lead the prestigious St. Louis Country Day and Riverdale Schools; that I certainly not overlook his distinguished Palaeologan and Ottoman student, Stephen Reinert, who has succeeded Peter Charanis and Angeliki Laiou in the Byzantine chair at Rutgers University; and that I also be sure to mention another of his talented students, Frank Trombley of the University of Wales, who has produced an extensive study of Late Antique Hellenic religion.[119] You see, above all Milton Anastos was utterly unselfish, reveling in the successes of others; that is his greatest legacy of all.

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117 Lowell Clucas, *The Trial of John Italos and the Crisis of Intellectual Values in the Eleventh Century* (Munich, 1981).

118 Luci Berkowitz and Karl Squitier, *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae: Canon of Greek Authors and Works*, 3rd ed. (New York, 1990).

119 Frank R. Trombley, *Hellenic Religion and Christianization, c. 370-529*, 2nd ed. (Leiden, 1995).

APPENDIX: Milton V. Anastos's Vision for the *Mind of Byzantium*

The Complete Outline for the Typescript Draft

Preface

I. Introduction

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   2. Christian terms by Eusebius: Merger of pagan Greek and Christian
   3. Legal embodiment of Graeco-Roman political philosophy: The Roman influence
      (a) Practical limits upon legally unlimited autocracy
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(c) Immortality, crucifixion, and resurrection
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(a) Early legislation against the pagans
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(d) Paganism in the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries
(e) Psellus and Italus in conflict with the obscurantists of the eleventh century
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   (b) Neoplatonism
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   3. The papal primacy and the question of Peter's visit to Rome
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   5. The canons of the Council of Sardica (343) and the papal claim to universal jurisdiction over the Church
   6. The rise of the see of Constantinople and the origin of the conflict between Constantinople and Rome in 381 and 451
   7. The Acacian schism (484-519) and Pope Gelasius I (492-96)
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   8. Justinian I and his relations with Rome
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10. The arrest of Pope Martin I in 653 and the condemnation of Pope Honorius I by the Sixth Oecumenical Council (680-81)
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12. The iconoclastic controversy, the fall of Ravenna, and the beginnings of the papal state
13. The "Donation of Constantine"
14. Charlemagne and the title "Emperor of the Romans"
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John W. Langdon
The Marlborough School

AN ADDENDUM

Innumerable are the anecdotes about Milton Anastos that are cherished by those who knew him. The appending of just one more here might be forgiven. Milton was a star at the sitting-room coffee sessions that followed lunch in the Fellows' Building at Dumbarton Oaks, and I remember many displays of his charm and personality. He was a passionate liberal Democrat. The presidential election campaigns of 1952 and 1956 preceded my time at Dumbarton Oaks, but Ernst Kitzinger told me that Milton's fervor for Adlai Stevenson was so intense that it transcended the enthusiasm of even his most liberal colleagues in the scholarly community there.

One episode I did witness personally during my time as a Junior Fellow. Milton announced with delight that he had discovered the true formula for that age-old proposition that "the world is divided into two kinds of people." He had concluded that the crucial division was over mushrooms—between those who adored them and those who couldn't stand them. Since he himself felt he could not live without mushrooms, he assumed that other people who shared all his other opinions or preferences would agree also on this matter. But a quick polling of those at coffee over their diverse mycological stances revealed that this potentially dazzling key to human typology just did not work out—leaving Milton unexpectedly if graciously crestfallen.

The Editor

BLAKE, ROBERT P. (1886-1950)

IGOR ROBERT BLAKE

In Search of Byzantium, the Life of Robert Pierpont Blake

As a Stanford MBA addressing a group of history scholars I decided to refer to my usual ally the *Wall Street Journal* and it obliged. On January 1, 1999 it produced two front pages one for January 1, 1999 and the other January 1, 1000, recreating the news of the day. For anyone thinking that Byzantine history is obsolete I quote.

"Byzantium increased taxes and enacted trade measures to bring more revenue for its Treasury. The Government of Emperor Basil II imposed export limits on silk and purple cloth to maintain prices for the state monopoly... Holy Roman Emperor Otto II proposed a redevelopment project for the Palatine ruins in center Rome. It is intended to restore Rome to glory. The once famous Forum is now a pasture for cattle. The Colosseum is occupied by squatters who hang laundry from its windows." Sounds familiar?

Now a little background on the events that led Robert Pierpont Blake to Byzantium. In 1848 the cry of the discovery of Gold in California reached the East Coast kindling in the minds of four Yale graduates the desire to travel to the new frontier. Thus Charles Thompson Blake, Robert's father, and his classmates set sail for California in February 1849 by ship via Nicaragua and they arrived in October of that year.

In 1848 Charles T. Blake married Harriet Waters Stiles whose father, Anson Gale Stiles, was a Trustee of the College of California, a private predecessor to the University of California founded in 1868. All four Blake children who lived to maturity graduated from the University of California.

Robert Pierpont Blake was the seventh and youngest child of this union being born in 1886 when Grandmother Blake was in her 46th

year. The family moved from San Francisco in 1887 when Robert's oldest brother, Anson, entered the University of California. The student enrolment was 250 students and grew to 2,600 by 1904 when Robert entered Berkeley. Robert had the official nickname of Shorty Blake, as the tallest member of the student militia at 6' 6".

All male students were required to serve as cadets and in the 1906 San Francisco earthquake and fire the Berkeley Cadets were mobilized to maintain order in San Francisco. They were then ordered back to Berkeley to maintain order in the town, which was flooded with refuges from San Francisco.

Robert remarked once that had scheduling of classes worked out differently at Cal he might have gone into Chemistry instead of classics as some very innovative things were happening in that field between 1904-1908. However, he started his studies in the classics and became increasingly fascinated with the subject. Later he did use his interest in chemistry to prove his theory on the circulating of silver in the ancient world by analysis of silver impurities in ancient coins. By this process it was determined where the silver had been mined.

After graduating from Berkeley with honors in Greek in 1908, he entered Harvard that fall. College expenses were $1050 a year. In 1909 he received his A.M. and passed his general examination for the Ph.D. in both classics and history. In 1909-1911 he was the John Harvard Traveling Fellow is Classics. He left for Europe with a general letter of introduction from his cousin William Howard Taft, which he referred to once as his open sesame. He first went to Freiburg and then to Berlin where he came under the influence of the great historian Eduard Meyer. German scholars were the first to appreciate the work of the Russian Byzantologists. Hence Meyer advised him to go to Russia to study under Michael Rostovtzeff. Meyer knew Oriental Languages, which Rostovtzeff did not, and he felt they were the key in studying the Eastern Expansion of the Byzantine Empire.

Robert had participated in track at Berkeley and he had backpacked the large 12 x 16 glass plate camera for Professor

LeConte, founder of the Sierra Club. This interest in mountain climbing led Robert to climb Mt. Ararat. Another student joined him and the Russian Army commander at the fort near Mt. Ararat worked out a couple of Kurdish guides for the arduous ascent.

Robert returned to St.Petersburg in 1911 on his second fellowship and studied under Michael Rostovtzeff and N. Y. Marr with whom he started his studies in Georgian and Armenian. It was Rostovtzeff who introduced him to Olga Alexieoevna Kimona, daughter of Princess Koschukina, who became his mistress for the next six years. From 1912-1914 Robert was an instructor at the University of Pennsylvania and returned to Russian to be again with Olga and to take the graduate degree- Magistrant at the Imperial University in St. Petersburg. Just before World War I broke out Robert had gone from St. Petersburg to Finland. Nicholas II's Proclamation of Mobilization disrupted train service to Finland and the station was jammed with Russians wanting to get back to Russia after the German ultimatum to Russia. Robert realized that the train would be full as the town of Terijoki was nearer Russia and made his preparations accordingly. A diminutive Finnish youth, through a small gratuity, was engaged to assist him. At length the train hove in sight, flashed in, and stopped. He upended his suitcase and with one jump was through the nearest window before those inside had time to gasp or curse. Two seconds later his suitcase arrived, tossed in by the young Finn. Being inside, remonstrations and curses were of no avail.

Xenia, the attractive maid in the house where Robert had a room, was a fertile source for gossip and rumors. Thus for example the disturbances in Moscow in 1915 were common knowledge with in eight hours but not reported in the press for four days. One day he was taking the wrinkles out of his opera hat, when Xenia was in the room. She told him a lovely yarn which is worth preserving. When the theatre opened some four years back, the proprietor gave a house warming. The regular concierge had been taken ill, and in his place another was put –green and raw from the village. The proprietor told him that when guests came in he should take their coats and opera hats , and close up the latter, showing him how to do it, but he said if they didn't close up its O.K., to press them on his knee. This he

did not only to the opera hats but to the tiles (top hats, which were not collapsible) as well! As the latter proved refractory, he put them on the floor and stomped on them. When the guests came out, you can imagine the rumpus. Everybody sailed into him with "club, decanter, fist, and boot", and made paste out of him in the most approved manner.

Back in the United States in 1916 after his thesis was accepted at Harvard, he took his Ph.D. exams and received his degree. He then returned to Russia after a brief visit to his family in California.

He supported himself by accompanying the US Embassy Secretary on a tour of the Russian prisoners of war camps and working for the representative of the Guarantee Trust Company. There was a great shortage of food and Robert experienced real hunger, losing 100 pounds and going from 278 pounds to 178 pounds. He witnessed the outbreak of the Russian Revolution in Petrograd, as it was called during the War, as he was walking to Professor Rostovetzeff's, having to lie in the gutter as rounds of machine gun fire let loose. It was the turning point of the Revolution when the armored car division and part of the garrison joined the revolution, defeating the police armed with machine guns.

In April 1918 Robert received a grant from the Russian Academy of Sciences to go to Tiflis and left Petrograd, traveling by train, boat and oxcart to Vladikavkaz. This was the situation. The Turkish advance had been stopped, but the Trans-Caucasian Federation had broken up. Three independent republics, Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia had taken its place, and 8,000 Germans had entered Tiflis. Robert had an Ossett friend who worked out a trip through the mountains and villages of Ossetia in order to avoid the Germans on the Georgian Military Highway.

The Germans decided to consider Robert a Georgian matter and Robert reported to T'aqaishvili, the head of the Trans-Caucasian Archeological Institute as well as vice speaker of the Georgian parliament. The first task for the Russian Academy of Sciences was to update the conflicting and incomplete catalogues of the Tiflis

manuscripts. The other was to investigate and copy various sections of the Bible.

Olga followed Robert to Tiflis and then they separated and she returned to Petrograd.

Robert was without funds and there was no banking system in operation. Then one of the Priests got Robert a job teaching at the Georgian Nobles Gymnasium. Instruction had to be in Georgian although Georgian had ceased to be an idiom for expressing technical and civilized ideas ever since the conquest of Georgia by Russian 1n 1801. This caused somewhat of a teaching dilemma.

The Institute undertook to publish architectural drawings of an important Georgian church at Tsoroni, some 60 miles west of Tiflis and it was through this effort her met his wife-to-be Nadia Kryzanovskaya, daughter of the Appellate Judge for the Caucasus.

By Christmas 1918 the British garrison of 17,000 troops arrived and Robert went to call on the British authorities. Translating from Georgian, Russian, Armenian, and Syrian gave him a new source of funds as well as the privilege of the use of the British mails.

In the summer of 1919 Robert "stood" for election to the Faculty of the State University of Georgia and he was elected a Professor of Greek.

In October Robert wrote to his mother that his relations with Olga, which has caused him to return to Russia in 1914, were over. He did not regret the decision as the years in Russian were a colossal advantage to his work. He then informed her of his engagement to Nadezda Nikolaevna Krzhanovskaya. They were married on January 7, 1920, Christmas Day, in the Julian Calendar. Robert and Nadia left Tiflis in May 1920 after he had concluded his lectures and given his examinations.

Robert and Nadia retuned to the United States that summer and Robert accepted an appointment at Harvard.

That fall there was dinner at the Harvard Faculty Club attended by Professor Kirsopp Lake, Professor of Christian Literature, Professor Ropes, President Lowells's Cousin whose field was the New Testament, and Professor Coolidge, Director of Widener

Library. They offered Robert a chance to head an expedition to Mt. Athos to catalogue the Greek and Georgian manuscripts and photograph some of them. Nadia went back to Tiflis to supervise the photographing of the selected Georgian manuscripts there. J. P. Morgan was the financial backer. This expedition and the ones that followed to Mt. Sinai lead to a life long search for manuscripts, enlisting the help of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the personal imprimatur of the Pope, and Greek and Armenian Patriarchs.

Robert's appointment as Exchange Tutor with University College, Oxford 1923-1924 was proceeded by his appointment as Assistant Professor and Tutor at Harvard.

At Christmas time Robert went to Jerusalem with a letter of introduction to the Patriarch from the Archbishop of Canterbury. This was the continuation of the search for Georgian, Syriac and Armenian manuscripts which fill in gaps in the Westerns translations of the Bible and other classical texts. In the afternoon he went for Tea at the American Colony and all the notables were there, The Governor and High Commissioner, The Greek Patriarch and the Armenian Bishop.

England still retained its pomp. At one gathering the Lord Bishop of Oxford appeared in a purple dress suit, silk stocking with buckled shoes. At a convocation conferring a honorary degree upon him Robert described it like this: "Then the procession of heralds and the Public Orator marched out for me. We stood in front of the Vice-Chancellor whilst the Public Orator descanted my virtues and deeds in Latin. I was then escorted to a seat next to the Vice-Chancellor. The degree was thus conferred."

The expeditions to the Middle East continued throughout the 1920's and the 1930's. Robert went twice to Mt. Sinai and again to Mr. Athos. His searches for manuscripts and fragments of manuscripts extended from the Vatican to Cairo, Jerusalem, Antioch, Patmos, Oxford, St. Petersburg, Tiflis, Erivan, and St. Catherine's Monastery at Mt. Sinai. Robert even found one in the locked cabinet of the Andover Newton Theological School. While at St. Catherines they were accompanied by a Deacon Johnson who described their

adventures with great humor. Professor Blake became elevated to the dignity of holy wonder-worker in the realm of healing arts when they brought in an Arab who had been bitten by a serpent. The wound which was dripping in blood, dirty bandages, and a paste of camel dung, turned over poor Deacon Johnson liver. He quickly turned the Arab over to Professor Blake who scrubbed, administered iodine and morphine and left the poor fellow to die. Die he did not and Robert's reputation as a wonder worker spread- the lines formed depleting the medical supplies and interrupting the manuscript work.

One of the publications resulting from these manuscript searches was the publications of the "Twelve Precious Stones" by Ephiphanius, Bishop of Salamis, a Patristic father, who was the contemporary of St. Jerome. The complete text of "The Twelve Precious Stones" was lost in the Western world and the missing pieces found in Georgian, Coptic and Armenian fragments. The publication thus gave a more complete text than had been known in modern times.

Other publications included the Old Georgian Versions of the Gospels of Mathew, Mark and John and the Old Georgian Version of the Prophets., In these publications the Georgian text was printed and a translation in Latin printed in parallel with extensive footnotes noting the difference from other monasteries' manuscripts. Latin was chosen for several reasons. First of all it is an international language; secondly, there was an excellent model in the shape of the Jerome's version, (the Vulgate), and thirdly because Latin and Georgian agreed in certain syntactical points. In translating Robert sought to retain the phraseology and construction of the Vulgate unless there was a specific reason for divergence from it, yet at the same time he wished to follow the word order as faithfully as possible, to reproduce the sense of the Georgian original.

There were archeological expeditions to Samaria, Lake Van and Serabit on the Sinai Peninsula. The final results of the Serabit expeditions proved the inscriptions on stones which they photographed and or brought back, filled in the gap in the trail of the Phoenician Alphabet as it developed from hieroglyphics.

Along with the adventures and expeditions there were a steady stream of honors, elections, and appointments: 1926 he was elected a member of the American Academy of Arts and Science, Director of the University Library 1928-1937, Chairman for the preliminary Committee of the Harvard Tercentenary celebration 1935-1936, Chairman of the American Council of Learned Societies 1935-1938, Exchange Professor at the Sorbonne 1938, Grand Medaille de l'university de Lyon 1938, Member of the American Philosophical Society 1943, Sponsor Societe des Bollandistes, Brussels 1945.

The Legacies

As a result of the insight, contacts, energies, and connections of Robert Pierpont Blake his major efforts to promote Byzantine history were advanced.

First in Tiflis in 1919-1920 he met Thomas Whittemore and a decade later worked with him to establish the Byzantine Institute. Thomas Whittemore, with the backing of the Byzantine Institutes Directors, convinced Mustapha Kemal Ataturk that the Christian mosaic in the Church of Holy Wisdom should be revealed. Thomas Whittemore as Director of the Institute basically completed this task. Both Blake as President and Whittemore as Director of the Byzantine Institute died with in a month of each other in 1950 and eventually the Byzantine Institute was folded in to Dumbarton Oaks.

Robert P. Blake was instrumental in the early discussions with Mildred and Robert Bliss for the donation of Dumbarton Oaks and its endowment to Harvard University. Robert served as Senior Scholar in 1942 as well as doing some War related work.

The third major spin off from the search for Byzantium was the Harvard Yenching Institute. In 1910, while at the Imperial University at St. Petersburg, Robert had been impressed that all the languages of the Near East and the major languages of the Far East were taught. He felt that Harvard should offer a spectrum of the major languages of the Far East. This opportunity was created by his 1928 appointment as one of the first Trustees for life of what was to become the Harvard Yenching Institute.

Finally in 1948 Robert attended the New Testament Conference at the University of Chicago. They were planning a new American Standard Version of the Bible and Robert was asked to provide the variations found in the Georgian manuscripts. These manuscripts were some of the oldest manuscripts of the Bible. The Georgian manuscripts were usually drawn form Armenian sources, which dated from the 7th century.

The Alpha Omega of Robert's life is that he is, by chance, buried in the cemetery lot in North Newport, New Hampshire next to Luther Waggle who chaired the New Testament Conference.

Igor Robert Blake
Lafayette, CA

AN ADDENDUM:

Recollections of Robert P. Blake shared in discussion at the session of the Byzantine Studies Conference at which this essay was read, proved particularly rich. Accordingly, I hope that his son will not object to my adding two anecdotes that help enhance appreciation of Blake's personality.

The first tells of Blake once boarding a bus or trolley--in a city (Paris? Cambridge MA?) disputed among several recensions of the story. As he walked down the aisle, he passed two attractive women who (confident that no one around them could understand so exotic a language) were speaking to each other in Georgian. One looked up at Blake--a tall, handsome, strapping figure of a man--and said to the other, "Wouldn't he be someone to sleep with!" Blake continued past them but, departing the bus before they did, he walked by them again and said, in his fine Georgian, "At your service, madam!"

The other story was told to me (and several others) by George Soulis. The latter was taking a course with Blake as part of his Ph.D. program at Harvard and was working har one Sunday afternoon at Widener Library. But he had reached an impasse at his research project and, at his wits end, he broke down and telephoned Blake to ask advice. To his amazement, Blake simply asked where George was, said "Wait right there, I'll be right over", and hung up. Blake soon appeared, took George by the hand, and led him to this or that area of the stacks, showing him the materials he needed. Though relieved and grateful, George was still horrified that he had roused Blake out on this errand on a Sunday afternoon. Blake silenced him with the rejoinder: "Never mind. Some day it will be your turn, and then you will remember this." That is my favorite story about the teacher-student relationship, and one I have always delighted to tell my students whenever they have thought they had something to thank me for. (But note also a parallel parable, about Milton Anastos, told in John Langdon's essay above).

The Editor

BUCHTHAL, HUGO (1909-1996)

ELLEN C. SCHWARTZ

Hugo Buchthal: Manuscripts and Memories

As director of the Institute of Fine Arts, Walter Cook once said, "Hitler shakes the tree, and I pick up the apples." One of the very great apples to land there at NYU was the renowned art historian, Hugo Buchthal. While he is known to most as an eminent scholar of manuscripts, a careful study of his life and works reveals a researcher of greater breadth in his scholarship and wider influence in his writing and teaching, as well as a man of deep humanity and cultivation. This essay was presented to honor his memory by elucidating many facets of his long and productive life, both scholarly and personal.[1]

Professor Buchthal was born on August 11, 1909 to an assimilated Jewish family in Berlin. His background made him a true product of what Ringer has called the old German mandarin tradition, a cultured individual schooled in the classically-oriented

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[1] Several informative obituaries of Hugo Buchthal include one in *The New York Times*, November 13, 1996, B12; John Lowden's piece in *Burlington Magazine* v. 139, no. 1128 (March 1997), pp. 198-99, Annemarie Weyl Carr's memorial in the *Newsletter* of the International Center of Medieval Art, New York, xx, 1997 and the collection of talks delivered at a memorial service held at the Institute of Fine Arts, May 22, 1997, *In Memoriam Hugo Buchthal 1909-1996 and Amalia Serkin Buchthal 1904-1996*. I am grateful to John Lowden for offering me an advance copy of this extensive and fascinating memoires "Hugo Herbert Buchthal, 1909-1996," and to Jaroslav Folda for facilitating its electronic transfer; it has since been published in *Proceedings of the British Academy,* Vol. 105, *1999 Lectures and Memoirs* (Oxford, 2000), 308-336. For a full bibliography of Buchthal's writings, see the volume of his collected studies, *Art in the Mediterranean World, A.D. 100-A.D. 1400* (Washington, 1983), edited by Jaroslav Folda, Michael Jacoff, Rob Nelson, and Harvey Stahl with a supplement in Lowden's obituary in *Burlington Magazine* v. 139 and the aforementioned *Proceedings*.

gymnasium.[2] This background was formative; he dealt his whole life with elements of the classical tradition as preserved and transformed in various art forms and styles. His choice of the university at Hamburg also appears to have been an important influence. This university was one of the newer ones, opened only in 1919. In this old port city from the Hanseatic league, there were interests in the science and medical questions connected with tropical exploration. The merchants had supported a system of public lectures and colonial institutes and, with the support of the city and of Max Warburg, the university was formed out of these elements. This background appears reflected in Buchthal's interest in international connections between cultures and their artistic expressions.

However, the first third of the twentieth century was a time of crisis in German universities. The position of Jews—even assimilated ones like Hugo—was dismal. Only a tiny percentage of instructors were Jewish, and they found it almost impossible to advance through the system. In many universities, like Berlin, there was not a single full professor who was a Jew. The educational system mirrored German society in its malaise and its anti-Semitic proclivities.

During this time of unrest, Buchthal suffered unrest of his own, as he writes in his memoires about his early years of study and the Warburg Institute.[3] He had trouble choosing a career, and started out to study economics. He credits his understanding parents—one of the few comments he ever made about his family—with granting him permission to study abroad, an event of great importance, as it was only in Paris that he found his love of medieval art in classes with Gilson and Focillon. Buchthal then pursued a broad schooling,

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[2] Fritz K. Ringer, *The Decline of the German Mandarins, The German Academic Community, 1890-1933* (Hanover and London: Wesleyan University Press, 1990.

[3] Hugo Buchthal,"Personliche Erinnerungen eines Achzigjahrigen an sein Studium bei Panofsky in Hamburg," *Wiener Jahrbuch fur Kunstgeschichte*, 44 (1991), 205-213, and "Personliche Erinnerungen an die ersten Jahre des Warburg-Instituts in London," *Wiener Jahrbuch fur Kunstgeschichte*, 45 (1992), 213-21.

studying art history, archeology, paleography and philosophy at Heidelberg, Hamburg and Berlin. After his undergraduate years, he studied under Erwin Panofsky at the University of Hamburg, and joined the Warburg Institute with which he and Fritz Saxl, another formative figure in Hugo's career, were closely associated. However, Panofsky was soon to leave Germany for the States. Hugo, in his own words, was hanging around the Warburg, unable to work productively and getting on Saxl's nerves. At the latter's urging, Hugo finished up his dissertation in two weeks in 1933, in time to receive his degree while Panofsky was back and able to hold his defense. Immediately after, in 1934, Buchthal himself left Germany. Thanks to Saxl's help, he was able to spend the next years studying Arabic at the American University of Beirut, and working at Hebrew University in Jerusalem. He then trod the well-worn path of intellectual German refugees by going to London. Here, again with the aid of Saxl, Hugo received a stipend and was able to work at the Warburg Institute in its new home. Later, he would succeed Saxl as librarian at the Warburg (1941-49), inheriting his desk which many of us later saw in the house at 22 Priory Gardens. It was also at this time in London that he met Maltschi, née Amalia Serkin (sister of the famous pianist). They married on December 20, 1939, in a marriage which was to last nearly 50 years.

During this period, his teaching career began. He was appointed to the University of London as Lecturer in the History of Art (1944), promoted to Reader in the History of Art with special reference to the Near East (1949), and finally to Professor of the History of Byzantine Art, a post he held from 1960 to 1965. Here he taught his first formal students, including Michael Kauffman, Cecilia Meredith, Bezalel Narkiss, Erica Cruikshank Dodd, Paul Hetherington, Robin Cormack, and Lucy-Anne Hunt. It was also during this time that his daughter, Anna, was born. In 1965 at the suggestion of Richard Krautheimer, he was recruited by Craig Hugh Smyth to teach at the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University. In his ten years there, he taught lecture courses and seminars in all aspects of in Byzantine art. And he mentored several generations of students—in chronological order: Suzanne Spain, the late Thomas Stevenson,

Inabelle Levin, Pamela Berger, Harvey Stahl, Michael Jacoff, Jane Timken Mathews, Temily Mark-Weiner, Rob Nelson, me, Anna Kartsonis, Carolyn Connor, and Stephen Zwirn. Annemarie Weyl Carr noted how proud he was of his students; in all his letters of recommendation, each one was (she quotes from a letter of William Loerke's), "simply the best." In a slightly different vein, Ernst Gombrich commented at the 1989 symposium in London where his students gave papers to celebrate his 80th birthday: "Hugo, you have so many students. And some of them...not at all bad!"

In addition to his own students, Buchthal influenced many more, people who worked primarily in western medieval art but took his courses and sought his advice as they grappled with issues of Byzantine influence in their subjects. And one must also mention his "adopted students," like Annemarie Weyl Carr, Henry Maguire, and most notably Jaroslav Folda, who tells of the moving moment when Hugo sent him all his personal notes and location references on William of Tyre manuscripts to help out when Jerry's advisor and Hugo's old friend, Katzenellenbogen, suddenly died. Many of us have had the benefit of Buchthal's knowledge either in person or through his active correspondance. And at Byzantine conferences there are even some of Buchthal's scholarly "grandchildren" as his students have now mentored generations of students of their own.

Buchthal embodied his true cross-cultural international scholarship. Born a Berliner, he came to be seen as he is noted in *RILA* as a "British art historian." Appropriately, he garnered many international honors: he was made a fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1938, a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1956, and a fellow of the British Academy in 1959. He won the Prix Gustave Schlumberger in 1958 and 1981, as well as two Guggenheim Fellow-ships in 1970 and 1971. He held Dumbarton Oaks Fellowships in 1950-51, 1965, 1974-75 and 1978. He was several times a member of the Princeton Institute for Advanced Studies (1959-60, 1968, 1975-76), a visiting professor at Columbia (1963), and the first recipient of the Ailsa Mellon Bruce Chair in Fine Arts (1970) which he held until his retirement in 1975. At that time, he was also named an Honorary Fellow of the Warburg Institute as well as a Corresponding member

of the Austrian Academy of Sciences. In lieu of a *Festschrift*, his students organized the aforementioned Buchthalfest in summer of 1989. He is listed in *Who's Who*.[4] And his last honor was the Presidential Medal of Honor of New York University, which he received *in absentia* at the twenty-first Byzantine Studies Conference in New York in 1995.

Buchthal's long list of publications include his well-known, canonical works on miniature painting as well as lesser-known writings on a number of wide-ranging topics. One of the most striking features of Hugo Buchthal's long scholarly career is the number of new fields that he opened, in truly pioneering enterprises. He was among the first to seriously take up the examination of Gandharan sculpture in India. To Hugo, it offered a test case to trace the impact and transformation of the classical tradition. And it solved logistical problems, too. During the war travel opportunities were scarce and funds restricted; in London, Buchthal found a ready cache of these materials to study. (This clever, parsimonious use of limited resources was a brilliant stroke and a persistent part of his personality; many of us saw this quality when he offered us references written on scraps of paper, which he would scratch out and hand to students fearful of misplacing the tiny fragment!) And in the Indian field as well as others which were not his major areas at all he attained quite some prominence, climaxed by the small volume, *The Western Aspects of Gandharan Sculpture* (London 1944) and invitations for lectures and reviews. Closer to his area of medieval manuscript studies, he also published in the 40's a series of pieces on Syriac manuscripts and their illumination. The culmination of this work was his co-authored book with friend and colleague Otto Kurz, *A Hand-List of Illuminated Oriental Manuscripts* (London, 1942). These articles remain classics cited and read today, and the book is still a most useful beginning point for anyone working on this material. Again, these pieces demonstrate his broad expertise and explore interstices and cultural interchange—one of his

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[4] Buchthal is first included in the 50th edition of *International Who's Who*, 1986-87 (London: Europa Publications, Ltd., 1986), p. 222.

major themes throughout his lifetime, no matter what the subject at hand.

It was his scholarship on miniature painting which remains his greatest legacy. In these books, he—like the other giants of his day—took on big questions. In his publication on the *Miniatures of the Paris Psalter* (London, 1938) he not only grappled with a major and then-controversial manuscript; he sought nothing less than to define the medieval picture itself. The same fascination with the integration and transformation of sources can be seen in his most important and famous work, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford, 1957), a pioneering study of Crusader art which spawned, in Tom Mathews'oft-quoted words, "an academic industry." In this volume, he took a single known manuscript and adduced a number more, sorting them into chronological and geographic groupings to give us a brand-new picture of a set of schools and their development in the Holy Land. His achievement was lauded in reviews in major journals and further buoyed by his friend Kurt Weitzmann's discoveries of related works in icon painting. In his conclusion, Hugo wrote: "A comprehensive assessment of the place of these manuscripts in the history of medieval European art will remain a task for the future". And this has proved true. Several generations have gone on to major discoveries in this area and studies continue even today.

In later years, Buchthal's *Historia Troiana, Studies in the History of Mediaeval Secular Illustration* (London, 1971), explored non-religious traditions of representation and their links to biblical illustration. He moved into the then-newish field of late Byzantine artistic creation and influence with his book co-authored with Hans Belting, *Patronage in 13th Century Constantinople, an Atelier of Late Byzantine Book Illumination and Calligraphy* (Washington, D.C., 1978), and *The "Musterbuch" of Wolfenbuttel and Its Position in the Art of the Thirteenth Century* (Vienna, 1979). All these volumes are tours de force of analysis in adducing and understanding the use of models in the transformation of style. In addition to his books, there are scores of other pieces, expressing less well-known interests such as studies of Jewish iconography, the relation of

Byzantine art to Ottonian, the pictorial arts of Sicily—these, too, offer excellent examples of inquiry as well as convincing and far-reaching conclusions. Many of the most important have been reprinted in *Art in the Mediterranean World, A.D. 100-A.D. 1400* (Washington, 1983), edited by Jaroslav Folda, Michael Jacoff, Rob Nelson, and Harvey Stahl. While his methodology has today been augmented by an array of supplementary approaches, his careful observation of artworks still stands as valid, enabling the understanding of the composition as a unit, as well as the deducing of sources. His exquistely careful, detailed analysis and comparisons and his elegant spare prose offer a model to all, while his wide erudition is an inspiration to those of us more narrowly trained in the latter half of the twentieth century. Also inspirational is his love of art which cast a wide net. He told of meeting the restorer, David Winfield, and rejecting his bid to become Buchthal's student. "I opened a book at random and asked, "What do you think of this?" he reported. When Winfield expressed no interest, explaining that he only wanted to study Byzantine painting, Hugo expostulated, "If you can't appreciate Titian, how can you hope to study art history at all!?!"

Breadth, too, is the hallmark of the legacy he left in his students, both in London and in the U.S. The dissertation topics he oversaw ranged from iconographic investigations to monographic treatments, objects of sacred and secular purpose, paintings from early to late date, both miniature and monumental. Theses also dealt with artworks from all areas of the Mediterranean world and in a number of different media, as well as western painting and its receipt of Byzantine influence. The people he mentored have gone on in many cases to teach and write in Byzantine fields and beyond, in America and all over the world, while others have sought careers in museum work, administration and divergent fields—a wide-ranging group indeed!

A mere listing of honors and publications, however, must be augmented by an appreciation of Hugo Buchthal as a great humanist. His scholarship always sought the person behind the production, the patrons as well as evidence for artists, to give a sense of the living

context in which these pieces were made. He was able to remain friends with colleagues despite heated intellectual disagreements—witness the dedication of the 1978 book to Kurt Weitzmann. His training of students involved not only meticulous preparation of classes but long hours conferring individually with us over photographs in his office, at which we learned things one can't learn in class. I'm sure many remember his table spread with photos from the Paleologina project. It is interesting to note that Buchthal himself reports sessions like this with Panofsky; saying, "I often learned more in an afternoon than in lectures of a whole semester." Buchthal also read many theses, both as primary advisor and second reader; in sharing his time and wisdom, he helped to shape the work of a number of scholars. He further served art history by writing an inordinately large number of reviews in different fields—his vita lists 39--which shared his learned opinions with a broad audience of scholars in our field and beyond.

An essentially shy man, Hugo hid a bit behind the old world formality many of us saw at first. But by and by, bits of the other side snuck out. His ironic humor and impish grin, a sly aside, the controlled "heh heh heh" of his chuckle or the famed "ach!"—one often was not sure what this last meant—conveyed this. These moments of wit, sparked by flashes of intense passion for his beloved music as well as art—enlivened our years with him and afterward, as many kept in touch by letter via the well-known blue aerogram with the spidery script. Many of us were also privileged to visit him at the Buchthal home in Highgate after his return to London in his retirement years following 1975. Although he complained of being lonely and forgotten, our visit in the summer of 1984 was interrupted twice by phone calls—one from Jim Morgenstern and another from Annemarie Weyl Carr calling to arrange visits in the next few days!

And another facet of his humanity surfaced again and again—his endurance in the face of hardship and pain. One sees it in the record of his education and scholarly production. And he endured pain, surgery and more pain with his hip. But he could always manage. I remember his story of a less-than-ideal hotel in Nicaea where the

sheets on the two beds were filthy. Consulting a Turkish dictionary, he painstakingly wrote out a sentence, "Please change the sheets on the beds." The chambermaid shrugged, nodded, and put the sheets from bed A on bed B, and vice versa. He chuckled. When I naively asked, "What did you do then?" he fixed me with his stern glare and said only, "Sometimes, one simply must make do."

This remarkable man died in London on November 10, 1996, at the age of 87. His death was followed all too quickly by the passing of his beloved companion, Maltschi, a week later in what Dr. Trapp has called "a brave act," for with his death, her work was over. Maltschi was a major part of his legacy, enabling much of his work. To quote Anna Kartsonis, "Hugo wanted to do things for his students, and Maltschi showed him how."

Hugo Buchthal has indeed left a legacy of scholarship in a diversity of works and successors, and it can truly be said that he is survived not only by his daughter, Dr. Anna Buchthal, an anaethesiologist in Groningen, but by his intellectual offspring as well. *Webster's International Dictionary* (1993 edition) gives a definition of pioneer as an adjective, as "first of a kind; earliest, original." As a noun, the definition reads, "one that begins or helps develop something new and prepares a way for others to follow."[5] Hugo Buchthal richly deserves this appellation. As a first to study a number of art forms, he opened up new areas for long and fruitful exploration. And as important, he prepared and prompted students to further discoveries along these and other pathways. This they continue to do, in a tribute to his legacy as scholar, as teacher, as man. There is no one who may be more aptly called a "pioneer of Byzantine studies in America," than Hugo Buchthal, whose scholarship and memory many of us continue to find a source of inspiration to this day.

Ellen C. Schwartz
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5 *Webster's Third New International Dictionary* (Springfield, MA: Merriam-Webster, Inc., 1993), p. 1721.

CHARANIS, PETER (1905/8-1985)

DEMETRIOS J. CONSTANTELOS

Peter Charanis, 15 August 1908-23 March 1985: A Pioneer In Byzantine Studies In The United States

At the outset let me make a few biographical remarks about Peter Charanis – and I emphasize only a few because John Barker and Norman Tobias have written lengthy biographical essays and a complete bibliography of our common mentor (*Byzantine Studies/ Études Byzantines* vol. 6, parts 1-2 (1979), 1-24; Norman Tobias, "Peter Charanis," in *Byzantiaka* vol. 6 (Thessaloniki, 1986), 163-167).

Born on the island of Lemnos, Greece, on August 15, 1908, where he received his elementary education, he emigrated to the United States in 1920 at the age of 12. He graduated from the New Brunswick, N.J. High School and received his B.A. degree in history from Rutgers College in 1931. He pursued his post-graduate studies at the University of Wisconsin between 1931 and 1935 under Alexander Vasiliev, receiving a Master's degree in 1932, and his Ph.D. in 1935. Following a year as a Teaching Assistant, he was given a fellowship and for two years he attended the seminars of Henry Gregoire in Brussels.

Charanis' teaching career began in 1938 as instructor in history at Rutgers College, with an annual salary of $2,200. He was promoted to the ranks of Assistant Professor in 1941, Associate Professor in 1946, Full Professor three years later in 1949, and Voorhees Distinguished Professor in 1963. He retired from his teaching position in 1976, receiving his "passport" to eternity on March 23, 1985, with several honors and distinctions to his credit. What follows is a brief account of personal recollections, reflections, and appreciations of Peter Charanis the person, the teacher, the scholar – *a foros timés*.

My first meeting with Dr. Charanis in May of 1957 was not a pleasant experience for me. Soon after my discharge from a 2 ½ year confinement in a Michigan State sanatorium, I was eager to continue my education, which had been interrupted after three months at the University of Michigan. Following my marriage and ordination to the Greek Orthodox priesthood, I was assigned to the St. Demetrios Community in Perth Amboy, N.J., a parish of 129 families, mostly post-war immigrants, with a new church building and a mortgage of $130,000.

After two years of energetic *diakonia* as priest and teacher of the Greek school, I decided to pursue my dream. I had heard of Rutgers University and of a professor named Peter Charanis. New Brunswick is only 12 miles away from Perth Amboy. While in the Michigan hospital, I had read scores of books, from the entire Bible to Aristotle's Nicomacheian ethics, to Hemingway, Thomas Mann, Kazantzakis' *Zorba* to *Lolita*(!) and other works of literature, history, religion, and philosophy. Furthermore, while in the hospital, I read a series of articles in the "Zoe," a weekly periodical coming from Athens, which published a series of popular articles on daily life and the Church in Byzantion. It was in the hospital that my interest in Byzantine *philanthropia* originated.

In May of 1957, I visited Charanis at Rutgers and expressed my desire to study under his guidance for a doctorate in Byzantine Civilization. In response to my request, Charanis asked me of my background and my education. When I told him that I was a graduate of the Gymnasium of Kyparissia, and that I had a diploma in theology from Holy Cross Greek Orthodox School, Brookline, MA, he responded rather agitatedly saying, "Sorry, you cannot study with me. You need at least two more years of undergraduate training, an accredited B.A., before I can accept you as my student."

I left his office deeply disappointed and discouraged. But I was just as stubborn and determined in my pursuits as he was in his academic standards. At that time I did not know the difference between an open enrollment community college and Rutgers, Princeton, or any other major university. Thus, I began knocking on

the doors of several universities and theological schools in New Jersey and New York City. All expected me to get an accredited B.A. and study for two, or at least one more year before they would admit me to their graduate school.

Whether by stubbornness, or intuition, or, why not, providence, one day I visited the Princeton Theological Seminary. Administratively independent, but an institution in cooperation, and of similar academic standards, with the University. I had an interview there with Dr. Charles Gehman, the Dean of the Graduate School of the Seminary. I told him that I wanted to be admitted to their graduate program for a Masters in New Testament Studies and the Hellenistic times. Dr. Gehman looked at me and graciously said: "Reverend, I do not know you and we do not know anything about the school you are coming from, but we are going to give you a chance. It was the opportunity I was looking for. It was a confirmation that one should never despair, notwithstanding adverse circumstances.

It was not easy. I went to Princeton Theological Seminary with a background in religious and theological studies, primarily in pastoral ministry, of only four years. My classmates on the other hand had earned BAs and BDs – all together with seven years of study. It was a new, if not intimidating, but also a very rewarding experience for me. For the first time in my life I attended seminars with colleagues who had earned degrees from major European and American Universities (Cambridge, Oxford, Edinburgh, Berlin, Basel, Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Rutgers, Columbia, Duke). And it was for the first time that I had to participate in dialogues with colleagues from different theological backgrounds under the direction of professors with an English, German and Dutch accent. It was an experience in ecumenics.

I spent two years traveling back and forth, from Perth Amboy to Princeton, receiving a *Theologiae Magistrum* degree in New Testament Studies in 1959. My master thesis of 198 pages, supervised by Bruce Metzger of the Princeton Seminary and Glanville Downey of Dumbarton Oaks, who was a visiting professor

at the Seminary, examined the biblical influences on Byzantine liturgical texts. In the meantime, Holy Cross had received full accreditation and its graduates were invited to submit a senior thesis and 12 credits earned in any other university and receive a BA. Thus, in 1958 I received my B.A. in Th. and in 1959 my Th.M. in New Testament Studies and the Hellenistic Age. I felt I was ready for my second try with Charanis.

In late May of 1959, I visited Peter Charanis for the second time and repeated that I would like to study Byzantine civilization for a Ph.D. under his guidance. The moment I told him why I was there, he looked at me, rather surprised, and said, "Are you not the same reverend who came to see me a few years ago? I told you then and I am telling you now that you cannot study with me without an accredited degree." Again, I found him discouraging.

"Well," I said, "I am here with an accredited B.A. from Holy Cross, and a Master's in Theology from Princeton Theological Seminary." He took a pose, looked directly at me and said rather surprisingly, "You must be something, you must be something. Go ahead and fill out the forms."

In September of 1959, I became one of Charanis' students. Once he accepted you as his student, and you performed well, Charanis would support you in every way. At the time, I knew nothing about the availability of fellowships and assistantships. It was Charanis who made suggestions and encouraged me to apply for this or that fellowship. On one occasion, I had applied for a generous and prestigious fellowship but I was told by a Western Medievalist at Rutgers that I had no chance to receive it because "we are anticlerical here" as he put it. But Charanis supported me and he made my stay at Rutgers possible. He took personal interest in the work and future of his students.

One more illustration of his interest in his students. Because of family responsibilities and pastoral pressures, I decided in 1961 to apply for M.A. examinations and to withdraw from my doctoral studies. The moment Charanis was informed of my decision, he invited me to his office and said bluntly: "What is this? What do you

want the M.A. for? You must get your doctorate." I explained to him that under the circumstances, having a family of three children (the fourth one was born three years later), plus a younger brother and a sister, both students living with us, I could not carry on research and ultimately write a respectable thesis. Charanis then became instrumental for new fellowships and ultimately a Dumbarton Oaks Jr. Fellowship, which made the completion of my work possible. I realized that Peter Charanis was a deeply humanitarian and sensitive person.

But what kind of a teacher? Attending Charanis' classes was both fun and instructive. In addition to facts and figures, details analysis and penetrating insights, he embellished his lectures with anecdotes and stories of personal experiences which kept his classes alert. His undergraduate Byzantine history courses were usually attended by 75 students and his seminars by 5-7. His success as a teacher can be attributed to his broad encyclopedic knowledge, his enthusiasm for his subject, his ability to compare and interrelate people, events, experiences of other people and different historical periods. His seminars were rigorous, emphasizing a critical approach to and reliance upon primary sources. He insists that seminar papers should be precise and laconic in expression. He disliked wordy and ambiguous essays, and he was not slow in exploding if a student's work did not meet his standards. I know that at least two of my classmates in his seminars never finished. Notwithstanding his rigorous academic demands, Charanis is the only scholar in the United States who supervised the doctoral studies of 18 persons, saw them receive their degrees, and find teaching positions.

Charanis' scholarly work makes him a pioneer not only among American byzantinists, but also Europeans. His research was meticulous and exhaustive. "I could have written more," he said to me during a visit I paid him while he was in the hospital, "but I preferred to write a few specialized papers and on original themes than text books."Notwithstanding his modest self-evaluation, Charanis wrote extensively. A listing of his writings fills 12 ½ pages of the *Byzantine Studies* periodical (see Barker, *op. cit.* pp. 13-25). His monographs on the social structure, demography and ethnic

composition of the Byzantine Empire are paradigmatic. His studies are characterized by objectivity, exhaustive analysis, and critical evaluation of sources, including narrative accounts, archeological numismatic, epigraphical, toponymical and related sources. He will be remembered as the leading authority on Byzantine demography. He was committed to resolving thorny questions, rising above modern political and ethnic interests.

Charanis was appreciative of the opportunities offered to him for his education and advancement. He was grateful to uncles and cousins who helped him, affectionate and indebted to Rutgers, his *alma mater*, and committed himself to its growth and scholarly reputation. He refused to move to Yale or other major universities when offers were made to him.

In addition to his commitment to quality instruction, he was greatly interested in making scholarly books in Byzantine history and civilization available to the educated public. He was instrumental in the establishment of the Rutgers Byzantine Series, which published several scholarly volumes and text books that can be used by undergraduate students and scholars. The Libraries of Rutgers University and New Brunswick Theological Seminary, where his seminars were held, were greatly enriched because of Peter Charanis' recommendations and influence. His intellectual restlessness became contagious, whether in or outside of the classroom.

One important indication of his profound interest in quality scholarship and the promotion of Byzantine studies, is his extensive correspondence with his peers in the United States and more so with the Europeans. He exchanged letters on academic topics and issues with many leading scholars; including Alexander Vasiliev, Henri Gregoire, George Ostrogorsky, Konstantinos Amantos, Theodor Mommsen, Steven Runciman, Dionysios Zakythinos, Paul Lemmerle, Guyla Moravscik (who always responded in Greek), Michael Laskaris, Antonin Dostal, Kenneth Setton, Basil Laourdas, Paul Underwood, Apostolos Vakalopoulos, A. H. M. Jones, Phaedon

Koukoules, George Vernadsky, John Karayiannopoulos, and several more.

Furthermore, his correspondence reveals his philanthropic concerns and the help he provided to European colleagues in poverty. For example, in the early post-war years, he materially helped European colleagues in need such as Franz Doelger. He wrote letters of recommendation for younger scholars who wrote and asked him for help to establish themselves in the United States; scholars such as Ihor Ševčenko and Trian Stoianovich. His archives includes many letters of recommendation for younger scholars such as George Soulis, Speros Vryonis, John Barker, Dean Miller, D. Constantelos and others. Peter Charanis' style of speech was the style of his epistle writing. What he would say when present, he would also say by letter when absent. There was no guile or hypocrisy in the man. He would point out strengths and weaknesses of his students, even aspects of their life that could be considered by some as impediments for a position in a public institution. For example, when he recommended one of his clergymen students, he would always add that his student was an ordained priest. The answer would come back from the search committee with the "thank you for the additional information, but,... well, that is a problem!"

Community affairs, university and departmental issues, national questions and international affairs were of great interest to Charanis, who responded with telephone calls and letter writing. Letters to University administrators, presidents, vice-presidents for academic affairs, deans of colleges and department chairs, letters to editors of newspapers and publishers reveal that Charanis did not live in an ivory tower. Furthermore, he was a devoted family man. Letters addressed to members of his family, letters to his daughter and son in particular are very moving indeed. Charanis was a teacher *par excellence*, who taught in the classroom but also through the written word, correspondence in particular. His philosophy and example should serve as reminders that unless modern byzantinists give priority to quality teaching and student interests, the future of Byzantine studies in the United States may be bleak. Universities

and colleges will never replace byzantinists if they fail to attract students and make scholarship accessible to a broader audience.

Charanis' philosophy on teaching and purpose of scholarship, that has been repeatedly noted, is best reflected in a talk he delivered in March 1972 before the young faculty of the University of Thessalonike when he said:

> You write, as you must, books and learned articles, but you believe also, I think, that your first obligation is towards your students, determined to train not only your successors, but to form educated men and women so that the quality of life which characterizes a truly civilized people and among whose essential ingredients we must include respect for human dignity, freedom of thought and expression, and the cultivation of independent judgment, may be enhanced in your land. It is an epitaph of great value for all of us.

Peter Charanis will be remembered as a sensitive humanitarian, an outstanding teacher, a scholar of phenomenal influence, and a pioneer of Byzantine studies in the United States. *Aionia autou e mneme.*

Demetrios J. Constantelos
Richard Stockton College of New Jersey

DVORNIK, FRANCIS (1893-1975)

WALTER K. HANAK

"Father" Francis Dvornik: An Indefatigable Scholar*

In the contemporary world of academe, an environment brimming with imponderables and especially the absence of employment op-

* Perhaps at the outset of this paper and only as an extended footnote I should note my initial contact with Father Dvornik to dispel any misunderstandings and explain my relationship to him. In early 1967, having passed in my major field of Byzantine-Slavic history my comprehensive examinations for the doctorate at Indiana University, the question arose who could supervise my dissertation. My original topic was Saint Procopius and the foundation of the eleventh-century Byzantine-Slavonic monastery of Sazavá in Bohemia. Professor Glanville Downey had been approached by the History Department to see me through to completion, but he did not feel competent to supervise my topic and instead made arrangements for me to set off and meet with Father Dvornik at the Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies in Washington, DC. Father Dvornik, although retired since 1964, graciously agreed to receive me and dutifully I embarked for Washington. Perhaps because George Soulis had been my mentor before his untimely death, this had significance for Father Dvornik. And for years thereafter, he never addressed me by name, but always by "Soulis's student." We met for several hours, and had a most pleasant meeting. To my dismay, I then learned that a Czech scholar was working on the various redactions in manuscript and published form of the *vitae* of Saint Procopius and it was unlikely that I would gain access to them and other materials relevant to the topic. He did offer me practical advice, that is, select a topic which would enable me to finish as quickly as possible and this explains why I wrote my doctoral dissertation on the nature and the image of grand princely power in Vladimirian-Iaroslavian Kievan Rus'. Father Dvornik never formally declined to supervise me, but then again I gathered that he conveyed to Glanville Downey the fact of his retirement and preoccupation with other writing projects. To complicate matters for me, Glanville Downey himself was seriously contemplating retirement because of failing eyesight.

Father Dvornik was curious about my family background and after giving him a brief history, he smiled and said that he also was a *Hanák*, that his roots are from the same region in south-central Moravia as my father, hence he was from the region of *Hana*. Their villages are not too far apart. Incidentally, my father's village of Komna produced a distinguished figure, the monk-astronomer Comnenius, of whom there is a statue in the village square.

portunities for young scholars who have attained the terminal doctoral degree, they must reflect "what will be?" For Father Francis Dvornik, his dream to secure a permanent and life-long faculty position at Charles University in Prague never came to fruition, except for an appointment as an extraordinary professor of church history at that institution from 1928 to 1938. Yet, for over two decades, from 1925 to 1948, he labored with persistence and an unbending will to pursue a serious career of scholarship, though repeatedly denied even when employed the security of a tenured position and income, and a reasonable livelihood. The political conditions in his homeland, especially in the 1930s and the war years of the 1940s pressed heavily upon him. Ludvik Nemec most appropriately assessed Dvornik's approach to his predicaments: "In any calculation of success or failure, the difference is occasionally determined by intangibles, but in most instances it is commensurate with the amount and quality of effort expended."[1] In a span of five decades plus a few years Father Dvornik produced 33 books that include translations and reprints, 197 articles, and approximately 60 book reviews. By any measure that can be applied to scholarly productivity and recognition for one's achievements, he overcame the most difficult of obstacles to become one of the most productive scholars in the Byzantine-Slavonic area.

Father Dvornik[2] was born August 14, 1893, in the Czech village of Chomýž, the province of Moravia, then a part of the Austro-

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[1] Ludvik Nemec, "The Festive Profile of Francis Dvornik, the Scholar, the Historian, and the Ecumenist," *The Catholic Historical Review* 59 (1973), p. 210.

[2] I am indebted to the late bibliographer at Dumbarton Oaks, Jelisaveta Stanojevich Allen, commonly known to all as Seika, who furnished me many personal details regarding Father Dvornik. Also I should acknowledge my gratitude to Irene Vaslef, the librarian of the Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine collection, who was most gracious in providing me with the publications and other materials of Father Dvornik. Without their assistance, the composition of the article would have been much more difficult.

For the life of Father Dvornik, see especially Dimitri Obolensky, "Father Francis Dvornik," *Harvard Slavonic Studies* 2 (1954), pp. 1-9 (on pp. 385-390, this volume includes Father Dvornik's publications from 1924 to 1953); Vladimír

Hungarian Empire and now the easternmost province of the Czech Republic. As a young man, at the age of eleven, he joined the Benedictine monastic community, first studying at the archiepiscopal seminary in Kroměříž where at once he was exposed to intense courses in Greek and Latin. This classical training prepared him well for his later work. He then entered the major semianry where he contiued his studies with the Cyrillo-Methodian theological faculty in Olomouc, being ordained a Roman Catholic priest at the age of twenty-three.[3] He labored in the parish ministry for three years, mainly as an assistant in three German-speaking churches. Whether he believed that he was unsuited for the parish ministry or was influenced by the "Young Czech Movement" —although he regarded himself as a political moderate but was imbued with a spirit of national patriotism at the major seminary— Dvornik recognized the limits of national emotion and turned his attention to academic pursuits.

With the assistance of Monsignor Cyril A. Stojan, a famous church canon and member of the fledgling Czechoslovak parliament, Father Dvornik obtained ecclesiastical permission in the Fall of 1919

Vavřínek, "Francis Dvornik," *Byzantinoslavica* 29/2 (1968), pp. 265-277 (with appended bibliography for 1954-1967, pp. 277-280); *idem*, "František Dvorník," *Proměny* 3 (1973), pp. 72-86; Nemec, "The Festive Profile of Francis Dvornik," pp. 185-211, and pp. 212-224 that include the most complete bibliographical compilation to 1973, but contain some erroneous entries (this bibliography was reprinted by Nemec in *Proměny* 3 [1973], pp. 87-98); *Francis Dvornik, Memorial Minute Written by a Committee of Senior Fellows* [Ernst Kitzinger, John Meyendorff, and Ihor Ševčenko, chairman] *of Dumbarton Oaks, Adopted by the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Harvard University, December 14, 1976*; Ludvik Nemec, *Festive Homily on the occasion of Memorial Mass of Resurrection of Rt. Rev. Monsignor Francis Dvornik...held at Roman Catholic Epiphany Church, Georgetown, Washington, D.C., November 10, 1975...*; František Schwarzenburg, "Profesoru Dvorníkovi k Osmdesátinám [Professor Dvornik—the Octogenarian]," *Proměny* 3 (1973), pp. 3-5; Peter Charanis, "Francis Dvornik: Some Anecdotes," *ibid.*, pp. 55-59; and Sirarpie Der Nersessian, "Francis Dvornik," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 27 (1973), pp. 1-2 (with bibliography, pp. 3-10).

[3] He received a canonical exemption for early ordination to the priesthood, since the required age was twenty-four.

to register in the Department of Philosophy at Charles University, where he studied Slavic philology and archaeology under two distinguished professors, Lubor Niederle and Josef Peisker. The former was a specialist on Slavic history and archaeology, while the latter was a historian of the medieval Slavs whose controversial articles appeared in the initial edition of the *Cambridge Medieval History*. Dvornik's stay at Charles University was brief, curtailed by political uncertainties and the anti-clericalism associated with the Czech *Los von Rom* movement. Father Dvornik did earn a doctor of sacred theology degree from the University of Olomouc in 1920; his dissertation was a study of prayer in the Old Testament. However, he did not wish to teach sacred theology at the University of Olomouc and clearly, his preference was history.

To further his academic competencies, Dvornik applied for the Ernest Denis Scholarship[4] to continue his studies in France. Unsuccessful in obtaining a scholarship and the required funding, an opportunity in the Summer of 1920 to act as a guide for visiting Czech-Americans who were associated with the National Alliance of Czech Catholics in Chicago provided him with alternative financing. This chance meeting gained for Dvornik the requisite monetary support and he at once embarked for Paris to continue his studies. Although *not versed in French*, he launched his distinguished career. He studied at the Sorbonne under Charles Diehl in the early 1920s, developing a life-long interest in the relations between the early Slavs and Byzantium, and of the relations between Orthodoxy and Rome. His minor thesis was titled: *La vie de Saint Grégoire le Décapolite et les Slaves macédonians au IXe Siècles*.[5] The main focus of this study was an understanding of the value of a symbiosis of historical knowledge and hagiographic materials.

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[4] This scholarship was provided by the Czechoslovak government for study in France.

[5] Published by Travaux publiés par l'Institut d'Etudes Slaves, Paris, 1926.

Dvornik's major thesis was *Les Slaves, Byzance et Rome au IXe Siècle*,[6] in which he recognized the magnitude of the interrelationships between the Slavs, the Byzantine Empire and the Papacy in the ninth century. Dimitri Obolensky[7] elaborates how Dvornik elucidated "the relationship between the four main factors that went into the making of ninth-century Europe: the eastward expansion of the Frankish Empire; the efforts of the Roman Church to regain Illyricum from the jurisdiction of the Byzantine Patriarchate; the post-Iconoclastic revival of Byzantine culture which hastened the spread of the Empire's religious and political influence throughout the Balkans; and emergence of the new Slavic Christian kingdoms on the stage of European history."

One fact stands out above all others in this work and later publications—Father Dvornik viewed history in grand interconnected components, seeing both the trees and the forest of which they were a part. He never evidenced contempt for his detractors who sought as revisionist historians to focus on minor sources and to undo his main theories. His approach to the revisionists more often then not was to ignore them.

His doctoral thesis, regarded by scholars as the first of Dvornik's major works, motivated him to investigate more extensively the two apostles to the Slavs, Saints Cyril and Methodios, as well the mentor of Cyril, Photios, a professor and then Patriarch of Constantinople. But first, Father Dvornik needed the security of a teaching position which in 1925 was most remote at Charles University. Aside from an anti-clerical mentality then pervasive throughout the university, a position in history was unlikely because that post was occupied by Jaroslav Bidlo. More plausible was to pursue a position on the university's theological faculty, but even this was futile because that slot was occupied by a religious rival, the young Joseph Cibulka. Dvornik was invited in 1925 to become a substitute instructor in

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[6] Also published by Travaux publiés par l'Institut d'Etudes Slaves, Paris, 1926; and reprinted with a new introduction, pp. v-xiv, by Peter Charanis, Hattiesburg, MS, 1970.

[7] Obolensky, *Harvard Slavic* Studies 2, pp. 2-3.

church history,[8] while Cibulka became docent in Christian archaeology within the theological faculty. Two years later Father Dvornik received an official appointment as docent of church history, launching not only his academic career, but also affording him some degree of financial security although the stipend was modest. His career was not limited to scholarship, that is, to research and writing. He had a brief stint in 1928 as an administrator, vice-rector of the Ernest of Pardubice College in Prague.

Beginning with 1927, Father Dvornik took his Summer vacations in London,[9] where he carefully utilized his time to do research at the British Museum and to prepare the draft of his next major work, *Les Légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vues de Byzance*.[10] His stay in London also provided him with the opportunity *to learn English.* Dvornik, thereupon, demonstrated the historical genuineness and creditability of the Old Slavonic *Lives* of the two saints. Dimitri Obolensky stresses: "The essential novelty of his approach lay in the provision of a minute commentary on the two *Vitae* which showed how accurately these documents reflect the intellectual climate of ninth-century Byzantium."[11] Obolensky adds: "But perhaps the true secret of the book's success lies in the apparently effortless ease with which Father Dvornik has succeeded in identifying himself with his

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[8] To supplement his meager income, Father Dvornik taught at a French grammar school in Prague and also a French lycée in the city. The extent of his financial difficulties is further demonstrated by the fact that he ministered to French visitors and emigrants in Prague, including the personnel of the French embassy.

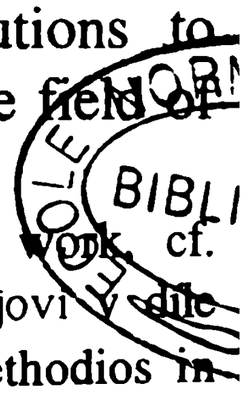
[9] Over the next decade while spending his summers in London, Father Dvornik made numerous academic contacts that proved to be of advantage to him later when in late 1939 the Czech universities were closed and Dvornik was unable to return to his homeland to teach. In essence he had lost his teaching position and a major source of income, remaining an exile in France in 1938-1940, then in England for the war years. For details concerning his diplomatic role in Paris, cf. Nemec, "The Festive Profile of Francis Dvornik," pp. 198 f.

[10] First published in Prague, 1933; and reprinted in Hattiesburg, MS, 1969. The latter, pp. xi-xxxviii, contains Dvornik's "Introduction to the Second Edition with Notes to the Text."

[11] Obolensky, *Harvard Slavic Studies* 2, p. 4.

subject...."[12] On a personal note, the publication of the book earned Dvornik nominations for *ordinarius* or full professor and a chair of church history within the theological faculty at Charles University. Two years later he was elected dean of the theological faculty, which removed him from the role of researcher and scholar for the academic year of 1935-1936.

While in Paris in the late 1930s, invited to lecture at the Collège de France and the Ecole des hautes études, Father Dvornik prepared a French version of his *The Photian Schism*. Because of the German invasion of France, though the book's announced publication by Henri Grégoire in the series *Bibliotheca Byzantina Bruxellensis* was never realized, Dvornik went to England were he revised his manuscript, and prepared an English rendition that was substantially expanded through additional work at the British Museum.[13] This labor was accomplished under most trying circumstances. Dvornik had no ecclesiastical standing in England. For room and board, he ministered to the Sisters of Notre Dame whose convent was in south London in 1940, but because of aerial bombardment was relocated to Pound Hill near Sussex. From this new convent site to the train station he walked daily two miles, then by train forty miles to London and work at the British Museum. Apparently, his only source of income were meager mass stipends. He was *persona non grata* with the Czech émigrés in England because of his previous diplomatic role in Paris, hence he could not turn to them for additional income or financial support. In spite of these acute hardships or because of them, he produced one of the most important contributions to scholarship. *The Photian Schism* is significant not only to the field of



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[12] *Ibid.*, p. 5. For a further elaboration on the importance of this work, cf. Antonin Dostál, "Staroslověnské legendy o Konstantinovi a Metodějovi v díle prof. F. Dvorníka [The Old Slavonic Legends of Constantine and Methodios in the Work of Professor F. Dvornik]," *Proměny* 3 (1973), pp. 43-49.

[13] *The Photian Schism: History and Legend* (Cambridge, 1948; reprinted 1970). As a first-year graduate student under the direction of my mentor, the late George Soulis, I was required in one of the courses on Byzantine-Slavic history to write a book review of my choice. I selected Dvornik's *The Photian Schism*. Soulis attempted to discourage me because of the difficulty of the text and subject matter, but I persisted and completed the assignment.

Church history and the relationship of the Roman and Constantinopolitan ecclesiastical jurisdictions—their disputes and controversies, but the work dwells upon major secular issues in church-state relations in the ninth century and the cultural climate of the period. In this study, Dvornik elaborates that the problems of the ninth century between Rome and Constantinople should be understood from the perspective of a quarrel between Photios and the Papacy, not over the issue of papal primacy, but ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the territories of Illyricum and the newly Christianized Bulgaria.

The war years proved troublesome for Father Dvornik in other ways. Unable to return in 1945 to his teaching position at Charles University, although he appears to have vacated it in 1939, his personal library was placed in the care of a sister, Maria, who resided in Chomýž.[14] However, during the final war years in Sussex and London Father Dvornik collected materials and prepared his fourth major study, *The Making of Central and Eastern Europe*.[15] He addressed a most important question in this work: "...why a strong and lasting political unit consisting of the Slav peoples had never been formed in Central Europe, a unit which would have created conditions for their [the Slavs] development on an uninterrupted and independent basis, formed an effective barrier against German expansionism and at the same time become a mediator and a channel of communication between the regions of Western and Eastern erudition and culture."[16]

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[14] His sister carefully preserved each of the volumes, which now remain in mint condition. In the early 1970s, Father Dvornik made discreet negotiations with the Czech Academy in Prague to have the books given to the Slavonic Institute of the Academy. Dr. Vladimír Vavřínek, the editor of *Byzantinoslavica*, kindly permitted me to examine the holdings in the collection that is rich with nineteenth-century prints in the Byzantine-Slavic field.

[15] He continued and completed his research for this volume while a visiting scholar at Dumbarton Oaks. The volume was published in London, 1949. This work is being considered for republication by the Academic International Press, Gulf Breeze, FL, although no final decision appears to have been reached.

[16] Vavřínek, p. 271.

With the publication of his fourth major study, Father Dvornik was recognized for his scholarship and offered a position as professor of Byzantine history at Dumbarton Oaks in 1949.[17] He was at the same time a member of the faculty of Arts and Sciences at Harvard University, where he lectured on occasion for several semesters. Dvornik's personal preference was research and writing, and less so teaching. But the dual role of researcher and teacher brought about the publication of his next two major works: *The Slavs: Their Early History and Civilization*,[18] and *The Slavs in European History and Civilization*.[19] The former text is based upon Father Dvornik's course lectures, "Early Slavic History and Civilization," at Harvard University in the academic year of 1951-1952. Michael Karpovich and Roman Jakobson, two eminent Slavicists at Harvard, urged him to expand and publish his lectures, thus making them available to a larger public—mainly English-speaking students. Dvornik, while in England, had conceived the idea of writing a history of medieval Eastern and Central Europe. He viewed the volume, *The Making of Central and Eastern Europe*, the initial component of his original schema. Yet, *The Slavs* and *The Slavs in European History and Civilization* do complete his intended purpose. *The Slavs*, like the latter, are handbooks on Slavic history and civilization for undergraduate and more so graduate students, but do provide specialists the essential resource materials for continued study of the medieval Slavs. The former examines Slavic history and culture to the thirteenth century, while the latter continues with an exhaustive examination to the eighteenth century. Their importance as major studies should not be minimized by critical scholarship since their publication, nor should they be consigned to the realm of textbooks discarded after a period of time. *The Slavs in European History and Civilization* is an analytical compendium of complex

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[17] In 1948, Father Dvornik was given serious consideration for a teaching position at Cambridge University where earlier he had delivered the Birbeck lectures at Trinity College. The following year, he was also offered a professorship at the nascent University of London's School of Slavonic Studies.

[18] Boston, 1956.

[19] New Brunswick, 1962.

questions, tracing the rise and growth of Germanic and Slavic (including the Czech, Polish, Serbian, Russian, Ukrainian, among other national) problems encompassing political, social, cultural and theological issues. Only a scholar as Father Dvornik who was gifted in countless foreign languages and knowledgeable of the major primary and secondary sources of a myriad of issues could have undertaken such a difficult task. The trilogy of texts remains a valuable resource tool for developing scholars.

The culmination of his scholarly efforts and interest in questions relative to Byzantium and the Slavs appeared with his *Byzantine Missions among the Slavs: SS. Constantine-Cyril and Methodius*.[20] Although formally retired at Dumbarton Oaks in 1964, Father Dvornik continued to reside and labor at that facility where he remained active in delivering substantive papers at academic meetings and producing books and articles. His volume, *Byzantine Missions*, reflects this productive phase in his life and is a magnificent synthesis of his scholarly endeavors since the publication of his doctoral dissertation in 1926. In 1963, Father Dvornik was encouraged by colleagues to publish a new work on the arrival of Saints Cyril and Methodios in Moravia, one thousand and one hundred years after this important Christianizing activity. At the time Dvornik declined to prepare a new study, but he notes that the archaeological discoveries in Moravia following the second world war which on visits to Czechoslovakia he was permitted to view and study led him to reevaluate his thinking. He writes: "...this new and surprisingly rich archaeological material gives a clearer picture of that period, and that the history of the Byzantine mission in Moravia should be re-examined in the light of these new discoveries."[21] Father Dvornik did

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[20] New Brunswick, 1970. This volume was simultaneously published in Prague as *Byzantské misie u Slovanu*, and was dedicated to his sister Maria and late brother Josef. The American version was dedicated to John Seymour Thacher, the director of Dumbarton Oaks from 1940 to 1969.

[21] *Byzantine Missions among the Slavs*, p. xvii. On the questions of Great Moravia, cf. Zdenka Münzrová, "Zásah Františka Dvorníka do problematiky Velké Moravy [The Intervention of Francis Dvornik in the Problems of Great Moravia]," *Proměny* 3 (1973), pp. 50-55.

not wish to limit this work to the problems of Great Moravia; rather, he sought to examine Byzantine relations with other Slavic nations, including the Balkan Slavs, Poland, and Kievan Rus'. Perhaps Peter Charanis most eloquently restated the importance of this book when he quoted Father Dvornik: "Byzantium, he wrote once, 'molded the undisciplined tribes of Serbs, Bulgars, Russians, Croats even, and made nations out of them; it gave to them its religion and institutions, taught their princes how to govern, transmitted to them the very principles of civilization—writing and literature.'"[22]

Given contemporaneous papal interest in resolving many of the complex millennial issues between eastern and western Christianity and bringing about a union between these two elements, the role of Father Dvornik should not be minimized in these efforts. He was born in Moravia and, like all Czechs of that province, he was well aware of the magnitude of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission in 863 and its enduring tradition. It is not surprising that he would honor this heritage and devote considerable academic energy to the difficult questions associated with unionism and ecumenism within the church. Soon after Father Dvornik took up residence at Dumbarton Oaks, he became a leading exponent of the unionistic apostolate that was identified with the Czech Benedictine abbey of Saint Procopius in Lisle, Illinois. His interest in seeking a common bond of understanding between Roman Catholicism and Orthodoxy stems from his student days at the Sorbonne. There, he lived in a house that was maintained by Abbé Fernand Portal, where the abbé had surrounded himself with clerical students who also advanced the cause of reunion between the churches. At the same time, in 1924, the Fourth Unionistic Congress met in Velehrad in Moravia and Father Dvornik was a participant at this conference.[23] The initial and subsequent Velehrad meetings became the stimulus for Czech émigrés in the United States after the second world war to continue this ecumenical undertaking at Saint Procopius Abbey.[24] Perhaps

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[22] *Byzantine Missions among the Slavs*, p. xv.

[23] Cf. *Acta IV. Conventus Velehradensis anno 1924* (Olomouc, 1925).

[24] For an understanding of this movement, cf. Claude C. Victora, "The Apostolate for Reunion at St. Procopius Abbey," *Proceedings of the First*

because of these unionistic efforts or as a consequence of them, Father Dvornik published his *The Idea of Apostolicity and the Legend of the Apostle Andrew*.[25] Stressing the concept of church unity, he holds that the Constantinopolitan patriarchate did not challenge, but respected the concept of the primacy of the Roman patriarchate. Ludvic Nemec understood the significance of Dvornik's approach in preparing this study. Nemec writes: "It is not surprising that Dvornik should excel in this area which postulated an extensive knowledge of the Church since his position as a Catholic priest-theologian provided him with an inherent understanding of Western Christianity, while his background in Byzantine study had given him a deep insight into Eastern Christianity, enabling him to come to a reliable and just historical evaluation beyond that which bare historical facts could provide."[26] The three successive ecumenical conferences at Saint Procopius Abbey became the forum for bringing Father Dvornik to the attention of the American Catholic hierarchy and the papacy. Respectively, the former appointed Dvornik to the Theological Commission for Dialogue with the Eastern Churches, while during the brief pontificate of John XXIII, he was named consultor to the Central Preparatory Commission of the Second Vatican Council (1961).

Equally significant, Father Dvornik's ecumenical interests led him to produce over a span of decades a number of books relative to the topic. Notable are his *National Churches and the Church Universal*,[27] *Byzantium and the Roman Primacy*,[28] *The Ecumenical Councils*,[29] and to round out these studies, his two-volume opus—*Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy: Origins and Back-*

Unionistic Congress, September 28 to September 30, 1956 (Lisle, 1957), pp. 19-25; also, Lubor Nemec, "American Velehrad," *The Byzantine Catholic World* 7/14-15 (1962), pp. 8-14.

[25] Washington, DC, 1958, in the series Dumbarton Oaks Papers, volume 4.

[26] "The Festive Profile of Francis Dvornik," p. 207.

[27] London, 1944. The themes explored in this work are the evolution of the ideas of universality and nationality in Christianity.

[28] New York, 1966; previously published as *Byzance et la primauté romaine* (Paris, 1964).

[29] New York, 1961.

ground.[30] In the last of these, Father Dvornik focused on the crucial questions relative to the issues of *sacerdotium* and *imperium*, concepts that were so important to the medieval period in explaining the relationships between emperors, kings, and popes. He elucidates how Byzantine political theory, which may be interpreted as theocratic, played a vital role in adding to the complexities of the age.

Father Dvornik always believed that it was precipitous to anticipate a swift resolution of the issues between the two churches.[31] He understood the mentality of the Orthodox and viewed it as being different from that of the Latin Christians. For Father Dvornik a crucial issue and perhaps an unresolvable one was the question of papal primacy. Any fruitful dialogue would have to somehow circumvent this obstacle. His studies of Photios, therefore, have done much to correct misconceptions in western scholarship of viewing Photios as the "father of the schism." Father Dvornik believed that the real schism between the east and west was ushered in with the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204 and the atrocities that are associated with that occupation. But also, Dvornik believed that the issue of primacy was linked to the "heresy" of *filioque*. Thus the foremost grounds for the estrangement between east and west are to be found in the political theories of the east and west as they evolved during the middle ages.[32] It is not surprising that his elaborations upon the main issues between the two churches are still valid as

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[30] Washington, DC, 1966. A third volume exists in manuscript form that has never been published. After Father Dvornik's death, several smaller publishers were approached to publish the latter, but nothing came of the effort. One final book that he wrote should be noted, but falls outside the scope of this paper, and that is *The Origins of the Intelligence Service* (New Brunswick, 1973), a study of especially of the Mongol system.

[31] "Eastern Churches and Roman Primacy," *Diakonia* 1 (1966), p. 3.

[32] Beside his *The Photian Schism*, cf. among other published works his "Eastern Churches and Roman Primacy," pp. 3-6; *National Churches and the Church Universal*, *passim*; "Patriarch Photius in the Tradition of the Western Church," *The Third Hour* 3 (1947), pp. 54-58 [reprinted as "Le Patriarche Photius dans la tradition de l'Eglise Occidentale," *La Troisième Heure* 2 (1947), pp. 7-10]; "Byzantium and the Roman Primacy," *The American Ecclesiastical Review* 144 (1961), pp. 289-312; and "The Origin of the Eastern Schism," *Newman Annual* (1961), pp. 3-12.

evidenced in the failed attempts of Pope John Paul II to bring about union of the two churches by the close of the second millennium.

No brief essay could do justice to Father Dvornik's voluminous efforts over five decades. He has left a legacy in scholarship that will be difficult to attain or to surpass. And yet he was a humble man who even made provision through his genuine diplomacy to return to his native village of Chomýž where he expired on November 4, 1975. His last request was to be interred beside his mother.

But Father Dvornik had another avocation and on this note I wish to close this essay. He relished good wines and foods, and was known for conducting spirited discussions with colleagues. Perhaps the most famous of them were his delightful exchanges with Ernst Kantorowicz of the University of California, Berkeley, and then the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton. Dvornik and Kantorowicz, whose father had been involved in wine production and trade, analyzed the quality of the vineyards of the Mosel and Rhine valleys.[33] Whether there was a clear resolution of issues and differences of opinion in these discussions is uncertain and really unimportant. That they took place adds to the stature of Father Dvornik.

Walter K. Hanak
Shepherd College

AN ADDENDUM

Numerous stories survive about Fr. Dvornik, reflecting his combination of gentle humanity and relish of life. For one, it was his practice to walk in the Dumbarton Oaks gardens late in the afternoons

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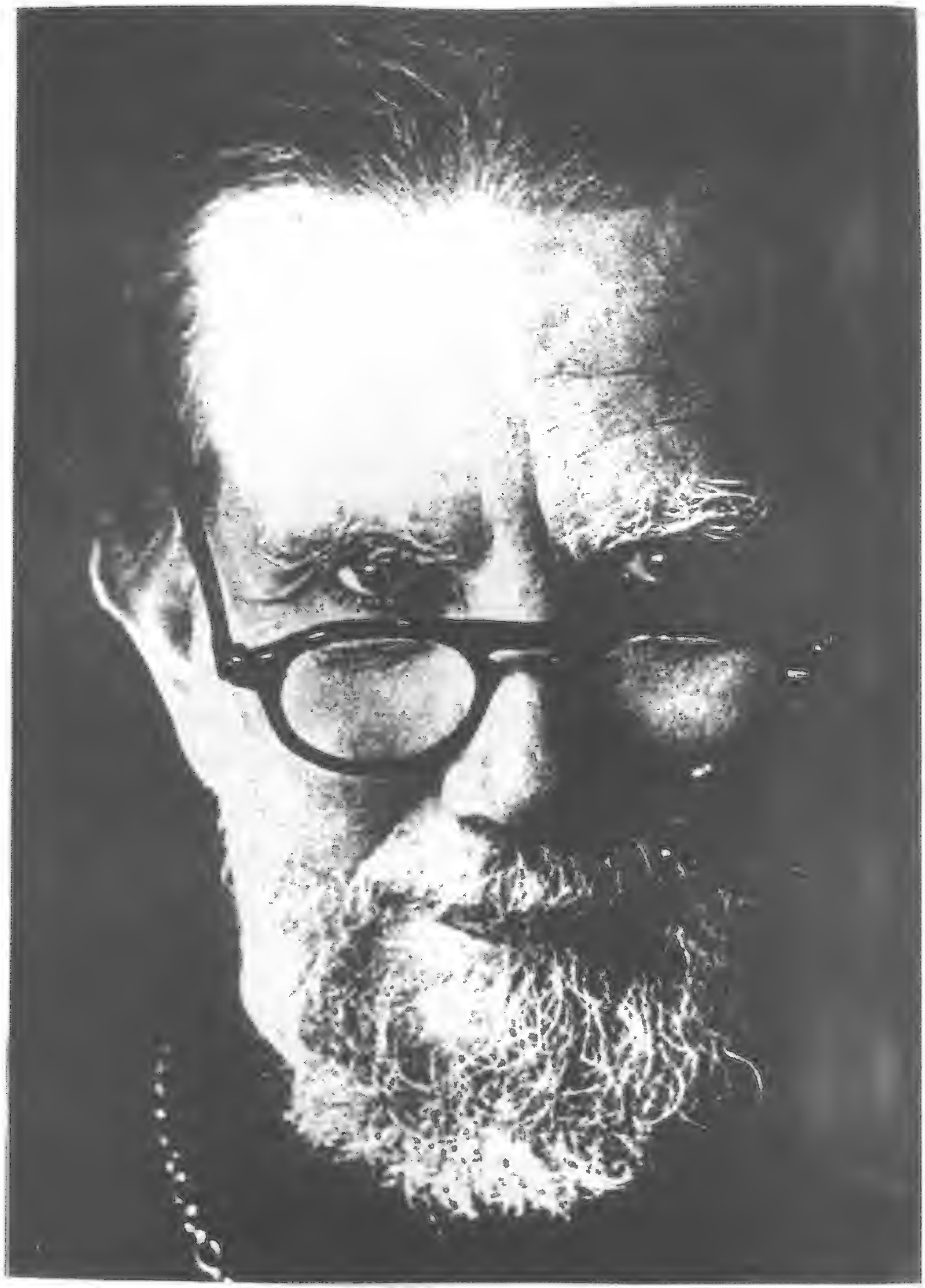
[33] Cf. Jelisaveta Stanojevich Allen, "Sirarpie Der Nersessian (b. 1896): Educator and Scholar in Byzantine and Armenian Art," in Claire Richter Sherman, ed., *Women as Interpreters of the Visual Arts, 1820-1979* (Westport, CN, 1981), p. 343. As a side note, Seika related to me another account, of how Father Dvornik enjoyed taking a deluxe ship to Europe, on which he could enjoy deluxe cuisine and good wine. On one such trip, he encountered four Irish priests who preferred to drink Scotch whiskey. Father Dvornik rather contemptuously remarked how they did not know "how to eat and drink."

or early evenings, sometimes comfortably trimmed down to his vest, and devoutly reading his Breviary. Romilly Jenkins recalled to me an occasion when he encountered Fr. Dvornik in such a walk. Jenkins passed on to Fr. Dvornik the latest news of the death of Norman H. Baynes in England. "Yes," said Fr. Dvornik, "I will pray for him." Jenkins pointed out gently that Baynes was himself not a Roman Catholic. "It does not matter," said Fr. Dvornik: "Is all the same to God."

Not the least of Dvornik memories concern his talents as a cook and his delight in preparing an elegant dinner for select members of the Dumbarton Oaks communities. (If you were invited, you knew you were a select member). Late in his years I had the good fortune to pursuade Fr. Dvornik to travel to Madison and give a lecture at the University of Winconsin campus. I Introduced him with the usual impressive scholarly credits. But I then added that the world of culinary arts had lost to scholarship one of the potentially greatest of chefs. When he took the podium in his turn, he thanked me but went on to shrug off my tribute with gentle humor: "You know, it is really very simple to be a good cook. The secret is that you prepare five good menus. When you invite guests you keep track of which menu you serve them. You never invite them more than five times, so they end up think you are the world's greatest chef!"

The Editor



FLOROVSKY, GEORGES (1893-1979)

JOHN V.A. FINE

Father Georges Florovsky in America

Father Georges Florovsky, theologian and Church historian, was born in Odessa in 1893, went into emigration from the Soviet Union in 1920, and after nearly three decades in Europe (Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, France, and Yugoslavia), came permanently in 1948 to the United States, dying in Princeton, New Jersey in 1979. My remarks today concern his American career, focusing on his years at the newly created St. Vladimir's seminary from 1948 to 1955, where he served as the seminary's dean from 1949 to 1955, and his years as a professor at the Harvard Divinity School from 1956 to 1963, when, having reached 70, he attained Harvard's mandatory retirement age. However, through the auspices of James Billington, he was able to teach for the next decade on a special professorship at Princeton.

Florovsky was a controversial figure in Church circles. He was a devout Christian, who understood Orthodox theology more deeply than any living Orthodox theologian.[1] An expert in Patristics, he knew in incomparable depth the views of the Church Fathers and the contexts in which they emerged.

The acquisition of his astonishing knowledge (or at least his view of that acquisition) is worth pausing on for it contrasts positively with much in the methods used in contemporary graduate education. Writing autobiographical notes at the end of his life (which were found after his death) Father Florovsky wrote:

> I had no regular theological training. I am an autodidact in theology, a kind of dilettante, a self-made man to use an American phrase. [He always liked to toss Americanisms (sometimes appropriate, at other times not) into his spoken

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[1] In this paper I use the term "theologian" in a narrow doctrinal sense. I do not use it in the broad way that allows Roman Catholic theologians (at their peril) to deal with social issues, like those that got the "theologian" Father Curran into such difficulties with his Church.

> sentences, usually with a broad smile].... My theology I have learned not in school, but in the Church, as a worshipper. I have derived it from the liturgical books first, and much later, from the writings of the Holy Fathers. When in 1926 I was invited to teach Patristics in the newly-founded Orthodox Theological Institute in Paris, I was utterly unprepared for the task. I had to learn first what I had to teach. I am not ashamed of that.... My method of study was very simple [and here is the contrast with current graduate study that I want to note]. In the first two years of my professorship in Paris I read systematically the works of the major Fathers, partly in the original, partly in translations. I studied primary sources before I turned to the learned literature. It is probably for that reason that I appear to be so much 'old fashioned.' I did not start with the 'higher criticism,' and for that reason was never confused or corrupted by it.[2]

Florovsky was distressed by the splits in the Russian Church in the years after the Revolution, and when he was ordained as a priest in 1932 he was ordained not by one of the wrangling Russian bishops but by the Ecumenical patriarch. Needless to say, this did not endear him to many in the Russian Church hierarchy. He also believed in a universal Orthodox Church and had little use for the various national churches (Greek, Russian, Serbian, etc.) in the United States. He believed it was vital that the congregation understand the service. And we see the pre-eminent importance that the liturgy had for him in the passage from his autobiography, where he states that his study of theology began with the liturgical books. Since the liturgy was the center-piece of Orthodoxy, understanding its content was imperative. Thus it made sense in Europe to have the different-language churches. But he believed it made no sense in the United States where the younger generations were losing their parents' languages; thus in the US, the different national churches should be merged into a single Orthodox Church under a single hierarchy with English the liturgical language. He once told me, the only difference between the different Orthodox churches in the US was "folklore," and with his emphasis

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[2] A. Blane, *Georges Florovsky: Russian Intellectual and Orthodox Churchman*, Crestwood, N.Y. (St. Vladimir's Seminary Press), 1993, p. 153.

on the Church's theology -- one might add -- folklore did not interest him at all.

Brought to St. Vladimir's as a great Patristic scholar, he was made dean in 1949 to try to give academic stature to the new seminary. Florovsky saw, with the support of some of his academic colleagues there, a higher mission for the seminary and wanted to make it an academic institution with high standards and a graduate program, and worked from the start to achieve this. Many of St. Vladimir's founders (and donors) were Russian émigrés, who were chiefly interested in training Russian parish priests and did not have any interest in scholarly matters. Moreover, they liked traditional services in Slavonic. Florovsky insisted on services there being in English, which also caused quarrels. Moreover, the émigrés' identities in America were greatly tied up with being Russian, and they felt their Church threatened by the larger Greek Church. Florovsky's Orthodox ecumenism, downplaying of Russian language and culture; his close ties with certain members of the Greek hierarchy in America and his insistence on seminary students learning Greek: all this led to tense relations with trustees, donors, and potential donors. Florovsky's temper, biting sarcasm, and inability to suffer fools did not help matters. While most of the faculty and the more educated trustees appreciated the educational values he pushed and the prominence and kudos his name brought to the new institution among international scholars, they also disliked the internal wrangling and saw the harm his positions were doing to fund raising; so they dismissed him.

Florovsky had long been active in the ecumenical movement, the World Council of Churches. He was its leading Orthodox member. Greatly respected by many of that body's intellectuals and the Orthodox representative on most of the body's major committees, he had difficulties with its members too. Though seeking good relations and a dialogue among the different churches, Florovsky also believed that the Orthodox Church preserved the true faith. Thus the union of churches could occur only if Orthodox doctrine were accepted. Moreover, he insisted that the general statements of the World Council could not paper over differences, but had, if the council wished to touch on specific doctrinal points, to lay out the

disagreements within the body. The generation of the 1930s, on the whole, respected his position, but a younger generation of churchmen less involved in theology and happy to paper over differences so that Christianity could speak with a single voice (or almost so) and work toward re-unions among denominations became impatient with him. Making matters worse, in the 1960s these younger people were social activists (concerned chiefly with social problems like world poverty and international issues like nuclear disarmament). They thus brought a whole new agenda into the World Council of Churches, whose purpose Florovsky saw as theological dialogue. So, he found himself becoming more marginalized in that body as the years passed. However, his work there had brought him to considerable prominence in the eyes of Protestant theologians, some of whom recommended him for an appointment at the Harvard Divinity School, at a time when Harvard's President Nathan Pusey was trying to build up the prestige of that institution, felt to be an unnecessary anachronism by much of the Harvard faculty. And so Father Florovsky was appointed Professor of Eastern Church History in 1956.

His Harvard years brought him honors and respect, but at the same time humiliation. Despite Pusey, the Harvard Faculty of Arts and Sciences maintained a strict separation of its courses and those of the Divinity school (a rule that I as a Junior, unaware of it, was to fall afoul of). This for a period gave Florovsky a second-class status and also cut him off from exciting students with whom to work. In his first years there, this isolation existed chiefly because graduate students were unaware that he was there, and the Harvard history professors (particularly Robert Lee Wolff in Byzantine and Richard Pipes in Russian) never told (and I suspect made a point not to tell) their students that he was there. This was a great tragedy, for Florovsky could have greatly broadened the instruction of those students. Wolff in Byzantine History was a very secular figure and though he discussed the theological disputes and Church councils, he had no empathy for the figures and issues involved and thus treated them superficially and at times even lampooned them. Pipes, whose own work stressed intellectual history and movements, in the 19th and 20th century, by seeing Florovsky as an eccentric anachronism, and

ignoring his presence, deprived not only his students but also himself of a great source of information about many of these movements, for Florovsky had participated in some of them in his youth -- having even been an important Eurasianist. Were the motives of these two men based on insecurity or jealousy of a man with deep expertise in areas of their own fields -- and in particular in areas in which they were both weak, Church and theology -- who might show them up or threaten their own positions as *the* experts of their two fields? In any case, it took some time for graduate students to become aware of Florovsky's presence, but then in 1961, a more sensible Slavic Department decided to take advantage of his presence and he was able to receive a joint-appointment, which brought him into the Faculty of Arts and Sciences. By this time graduate students in Slavic and one or two in history had learned of his presence, introduced themselves to him, and began to meet regularly with him. Among those who did was an Assistant Professor of Russian history, James Billington, who was after leaving Harvard to go on to a very distinguished career in Russian history at Princeton before becoming Director of the Library of Congress. It was through the efforts of Billington, that Florovsky was able to get his professorship in the Humanities at Princeton, when he retired from Harvard.

Ideally a graduate student of Florovsky should be presenting this sketch. Perfect would have been David Evans, who not only wrote his Ph.D. thesis under Florovsky, but also was one of the few -- if not the only one -- who could talk theology with Florovsky on his level and understood thoroughly his theological views. I worked with him only as an undergraduate, but I can at least reminisce. In my sophomore year I had taken Wolff's Byzantine course and had had two years of Russian (one of them intensive). I had become fascinated by Byzantine History (for which Professor Wolff deserves a great deal of credit) and wanted to study more on it. I also was a very secular 20th-century-American youth brought up without religion and had only a minimal knowledge of Christianity. However, I realized that the Church was a basic, if not the most important, ingredient of Byzantine culture, which I would never understand if I did not learn to understand Christianity. Imagine my joy, when going through the

Harvard catalogue, I discovered a two-semester course on Slavic Christianity over at the Divinity school. Being unaware of the rules that existed, I signed up for it and was greeted warmly by Florovsky, who was delighted to see me as his first Harvard undergraduate, becoming even more so when he learned I knew some Russian. He hadn't yet had a student at the Divinity school who did. That year, he acquired a second, a Serbian monk, Brother Daniel. The rest of the class were Protestants, mostly Southern Baptists. At least that is how I remember them, who, trying to grasp some theological issues -- for we started with a month or so on Byzantine theology -- would ask Father Georges how this or that dispute corresponded to some Baptist split in Texas in the 1930s. Florovsky's expression at such questions was a delight to behold, though as far as I could see not understood by his inquirers. His lectures were extraordinary. He rarely used notes, which frequently produced organizational problems, particularly, since the lack of notes or of an outline encouraged digressions (often long ones). As a result he rarely got to the place he intended to reach by lecture's end. However, it should be noted that his digressions were usually fascinating.

When we got in lecture to one of these theological disputes (like that on the Natures), he often would lay out the issues and then carry on a dialogue between, say, Cyril of Alexandria and Theodore of Mopsuestia. Theodore would say: (and Florovsky would present with quotations and paraphrases his views; conclude that the main point for us to understand was such and such, given in Florovsky's words or sometimes again in Theodore's); he would then turn to Cyril's reply to such a view and then we would get a florilegium from Cyril; and Florovsky could go back and forth between two such figures or bring in ones from the next phase of a debate for the whole hour. He was so completely at home with the texts and knew so well the intellectual environment and exactly what terms meant at the time (since these issues were all living ones to him) that one came to grasp these issues in their own context. I felt that I had in Florovsky (with white beard, flowing black cassock, and a large cross on his chest) before me, an actual resurrected Byzantine theologian. The only incongruity with a

resurrected Byzantine was his ever-present cigarettes, which he smoked throughout small classes, at least when he was seated.

We had to produce a major paper, due at the end of the second semester, and I, taking Church Slavonic the first semester and Old Russian the second, naturally sought a Russian subject. We worked out a topic on the heresy of the Judaisers, and he told me to read a series of books, including Golubinsky's *History of the Russian Church*. I, never having read an academic book in Russian, on opening his book was floored by this author and could get through about a page an hour. I went back to Florovsky terrified of what he might say; had I suggested my Russian was better than it actually was? He was very gentle and suggested that maybe these nineteenth-century academics were a bit hard going for Americans (there may have been a bit of condescension towards Americans there); maybe I should turn to some more recent authors, whose style was simpler, first; maybe to give me a feeling of accomplishment, I should start with some 20th-century articles that could be finished at a sitting or two, and he gave me several titles. Even though many of these were by Soviet scholars, Florovsky knew all their works and never hesitated to assign them to me. Of course, in our discussions of these works, Florovsky was critical of their ideological underpinnings, but he also readily saw, when present, the positive contributions of these Soviets. This method of working my way up through the different levels (in terms of language difficulty) of Russian scholarship worked well, and I built up both confidence and vocabulary, before returning a couple of months later to Golubinsky. Though I subsequently learned of how demanding and difficult Florovsky could be with students, he was always gentle and encouraging with me -- whether because I was an undergraduate (and he had not been allowed to teach them) or my working on Russian, or my enthusiasm, I do not know. He also seemed unbothered by the fact that I was a young heathen, which must have been apparent from our first meeting considering the number and content of the questions I asked; for they had to have shown that I came into the class, hardly acquainted with the religion at all. But as a teacher and mentor, I found him ideal; he was always encouraging, understood the difficulties I had (many of which were

owing to my ignorance of many matters, some of them basic for an Orthodox, or maybe any, Christian), patiently answered my questions or sent me off to where I could find the answers, and set high standards for the products that I turned in.

Before going on, I want to pause on bibliography. Florovsky appeared to have read everything in every conceivable language. I could go in and ask about any topic I was interested in related to Church history or not, and he, without referring to any document, would spiel off a list of books, articles, and even book reviews, including journal names, dates, volume numbers, even if it was vol. 4 no. 2; often adding some one else's article in rebuttal and then the original author's reply etc. And, in the items I followed up, I never once found him to have given an incorrect citation.

The second semester of my junior year was -- with the exception of Florovsky's course -- a fairly uninteresting semester. Following my inclinations, as was possible then when grade-points were less important than they were to become, I was spending almost all my time in extra reading on various topics for Florovsky's course and working through Russian works on the Judaisers, when I was summoned in March to the chairman of Slavic -- I was then in that department. He informed me that he had just discovered I was in a course at the Divinity School and undergraduates could not take courses there. I said, and it was true, that I had not known that. He then stunned me by saying that therefore I could not take the course. I told him I had been in the course since September and had been investing most of my time on it. I could not add a new course as late as March and thus I would be short a full-year's course when I started my senior year. He said he was sorry but the rule existed. Considering the situation, couldn't an exception be made? He did not think so. I then went the rounds of advisors, baby deans, full-blown adult deans, etc. and everyone said, the rule exists and thus is non-negotiable. They realized I hadn't known the rule, it was too bad, but I could not take or get credit for the course. Just at the time I had exhausted all the bureaucrats I could think of, by chance I ran into Clyde Kluckhohn on the side-walk in front of Widener Library. He asked how things were going and I told him of my troubles. He said something like "the

idiots" and then said don't worry, I'll take care of it. And somehow he did. I never learned how he fixed things and never had a chance to learn, for tragically Clyde died suddenly, in his early 50s, that summer.

So, I went on to write my Judaiser paper, the core of which a few years later as a graduate student I published in *Speculum*. I then worked out a senior thesis topic with Florovsky, on the dynastic crisis in Moscow during the reign of Ivan III. He gave me for the summer as usual a wonderful bibliography of sources and scholarship from the 1860s to 1960 (the current year). In the fall, when I returned, the Slavic department, difficult as usual, rejected the topic, saying it was a History topic. I pointed out that to do it I was using the Old Slavic and Old Russian I had learned with them. That did not matter. Annoyed, I switched to History, took on a large burden of new, uninteresting, and unnecessary requirements, and then was summoned by an assistant professor, overseeing the thesis program, who told me that my advisor was to be a graduate student named X. I told him I already had an advisor in Professor Florovsky. He was not, I was told, in the department and thus could not be my advisor. But he was an internationally-known historian and specialist on medieval Russia (which he also was), and the department did not have a specialist in that field. Impossible! X, the graduate student, summoned me; I said I had an advisor. X at least was friendly, but he was a modern historian, knew nothing of my topic and said he would be happy to let me work with Florovsky, but he did not have the authority to give me permission. Next Professor Pipes summoned me to announce that he was going to direct my thesis, a great honor for he never guided undergraduate theses. I said that was all very nice, but Professor Florovsky had already agreed to guide it and we'd worked out the topic and I wanted to work with him.

By then, I had sensed what I felt was a conspiracy against Florovsky and an attempt to keep undergraduates away from him, a view re-inforced when I looked at the 1960-61 Harvard Bulletin and saw added in parenthesis just above his Slavic Christianity course a statement that "this course is absolutely closed to undergraduates." So, I sank in my heels and absolutely refused to work with anyone else.

Professor Pipes, obviously exasperated, but wanting to solve the department's problem of this stubborn undergraduate, finally agreed that I could work with Florovsky, but he, Professor Pipes, would have to approve the text in the end. And with that, the problem was solved. I might add that as a graduate student, I published this text as well. (I mention my publications only to indicate how good an advisor Florovsky was to enable an upper-level undergraduate to produce two publishable studies in refereed academic journals.) That same year, someone in the History department went on leave, and Harvard College invited Florovsky (as a *visiting* lecturer) to teach the History of the Christian Church up to AD 500. Florovsky gave fascinating and rambling lectures without notes until he realized that with three lectures to go he had not reached the fourth century. He then scribbled out hand-written notes for the coming classes and succeeded in getting to the end of the Council of Nicea in 325.

Part of Florovsky's greatness was the passion he felt for every issue connected to the history of the Church. Every medieval debate to him was a pressing matter and still had relevance to our lives. As he carried out his back-and forth debates in class, he was fully engaged and a participant in the issues. These early debates and their resolutions were still critical to the Church. In the modern world, people had lost sight of the essentials of the faith and were diverted into superficial issues (often worldly ones). The Church had to get back to the Church Fathers, but at the same time, he insisted that theology was still a living matter; we were not just repeating the dogmas of long-dead theologians. The issues were still vital to us, and new clarifications or ways of presenting the essentials of the faith in modern terms were extremely important. So, theology was still a developing enterprise in the present-day.

But though he fought in his writing and in Church circles for a faith that he saw as the truth and though he would not allow his Church to consider any compromises or modifications with the doctrinal truth of the faith, as a teacher he was tolerant. If I got the ideas and views/positions correctly, he never criticized or corrected conclusions that I drew that opposed his views. His familiar green pen marks would demolish the over-simplifications that I made and point out the

many layers of subtle differences lying beneath my generalizations and the subtle differences in the meanings of Greek terms (and how different early churchmen used them), but he never graded me down in any way for my own opinions.

When Florovsky turned to discussing Origen, one could see both how fascinated he was by him, but at the same time how distasteful Origen's theology was to him. His excitement and engagement in the issues he raised were infectious (regardless of whether one agreed with the evaluations on Orthodoxy/deviance in his conclusions), for few people since the Middle Ages have felt that debating and in Florovsky's case overcoming Origen's ideas was still a major issue for the Church. But though fascinated by the neo-Platonic side of Origen, Florovsky strongly believed in the Gospel Jesus and the bodily resurrection. And, as he put it, at the end of an article on the Anthropomorphite heretics: It is not fair simply to follow Cassian and the other intellectuals who wrote the surviving sources and see the Anthropomorphic dispute as a clash between intellectuals who understood the faith and illiterate yokel monks who did not; for the Orthodox faith then and now did not move beyond the historical Jesus, as Origen may have called on mature Christians to do, but "the religion combined a God who was manifest in the flesh with a Christ received in all his spiritual glory. The issue then was not learning against ignorance, but Origenist Platonism against Evangelical realism."

The Church's contest with Origen underlay some of Florovsky's most important work. Besides his broad work on the Church Fathers in which the Origenist debate was a major underlying issue, he turned out significant articles that also had Origenist themes. Opposed to the oversimplifications and biases of many Orthodox and Greek scholars who insisted that iconoclasm was foreign to both Orthodox and Greek thought, Florovsky shows (in "Origen, Eusebius and the Iconoclast Controversy"[3]) that one need not turn to Jewish or Islamic ideas for

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[3] Originally published in *Church History* 19, no. 2, June 1950, pp. 77-96; reprinted in *Christianity and Culture* (vol. II of *The Collected Works of Georges Florovsky*, Belmont, Mass., 1974, pp. 110-19 [fns. 236-40]).

the source of iconoclasm; but one need only look at Origen and Platonist Christianity to see how an iconoclast position could emerge from Greek thought, and he showed that the letter of Eusebius to Constantia (probably false but circulating in the 8th century as authentic) which was used by the iconoclasts presented an Origenist (and thus Greek) argument against religious pictures. In two other studies on the Egyptian Anthropomorphites,[4] mentioned above, he shows (and I believe he was the first to argue this) that these monks did not anthropomorphize the Father (as Cassian, wanting to depict them as heretics, claimed) but in fact were discussing the Son, focusing on the human side of the Son as opposed to Origen's emphasis on the spiritual Logos in all His glory at the right hand of the Father. Thus Cassian was, in attacking them, distorting their views and covering over their anthropomorphic emphasis on the Son to make them into heretics, who anthropomorphized the Father. And one might note here, which was also annoying to his fellow Russians, that much of his work on Russian Church history (including his outstanding *Paths of Russian Theology*) argued that prior to the nineteenth century, the Russians made no significant contributions to Orthodox theology.

For those wanting to follow Florovsky's whole career or to go more deeply into the years that I have discussed, I recommend Florovsky's own and now accessible writings -- both scholarship and discussions of current theology and the Church today -- available in the multi-volume selected works of Florovsky translated into (when not written in) English and published volume-by-volume in the 1970s and 1980s. These texts are supplemented by Andrew Blane's excellent and moving *Georges Florovsky: Russian Intellectual and Orthodox Churchman*. The book includes his bibliography and also a

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[4] G. Florovsky, "The Anthropomorphites in the Egyptian Desert," [1960] reprinted in *Aspects of Church History* (vol. IV of *The Collected Works of Georges Florovsky*, Belmont, Mass., 1975, pp. 89-96 [fns. p. 289]); "Theophilus of Alexandria and Apa Aphou of Pemedje. The Anthropomorphites in the Egyptian Desert II," in *Aspects...*, pp. 97-129 (fns. pp. 290-96).

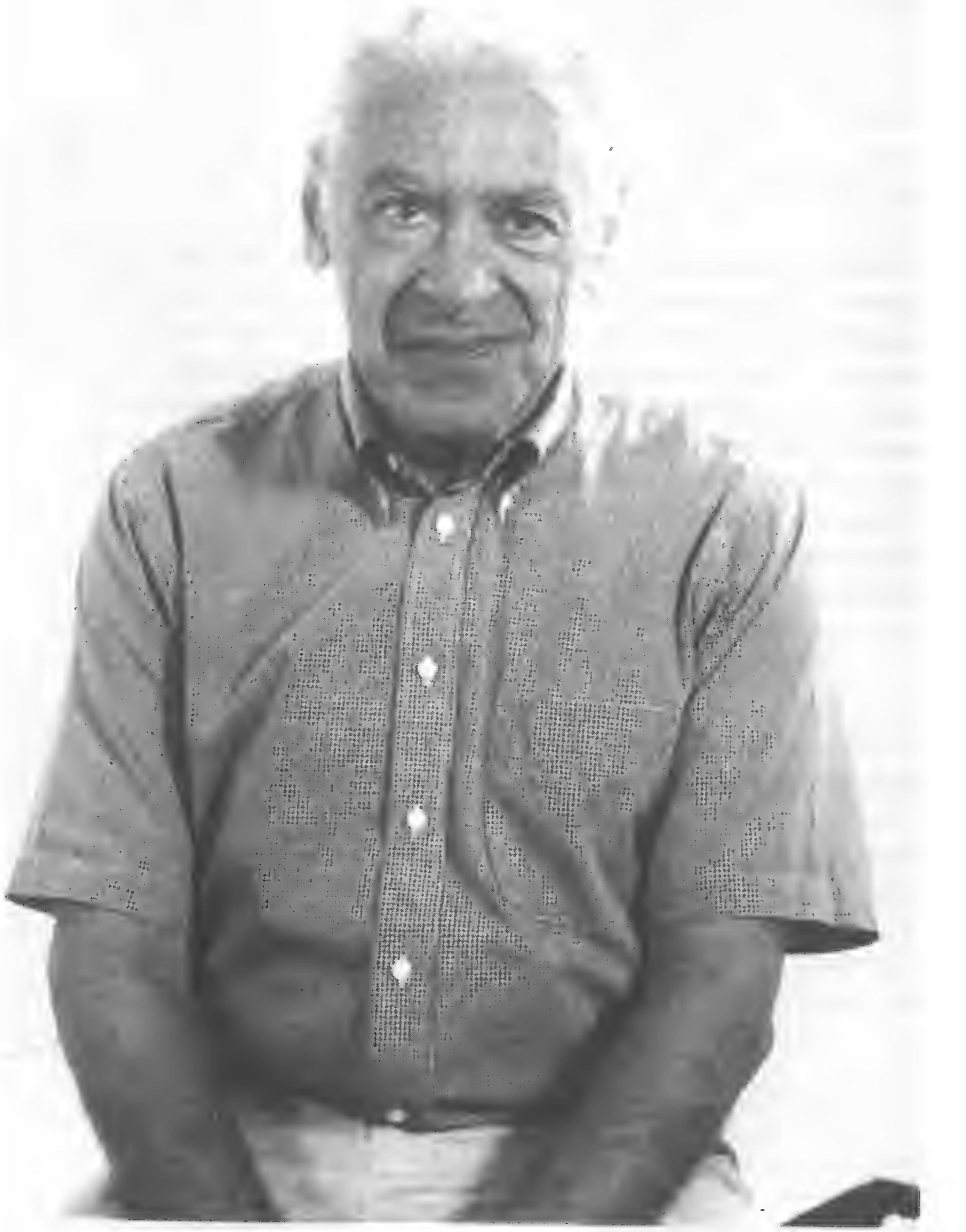
description of the Florovsky papers at the Princeton University Library.

John V.A. Fine jr.
University of Michigan

AN ADDENDUM:

In discussion following the presentation of this essay at the Byzantine Studies Conference, one participant recalled an unexpected impact that Fr. Florovsky's persona had upon one of his students. That student had preserved a vivid recollection of the great scholar as an addict of the photocopier, to which he made regular recourse to copy materials for his voracious perusal. Following his Harvard days, the student had gone into the world of advertising. One of his clients was the Xerox Corp., in need of a catchy new graphic image of its product. It was his recollection of Fr. Florovsky, diligently photocopying in his Cassock, that prompted the former student to devise an image of a monk busily xeroxing medieval manuscripts, for what became a highly successful ad.

The Editor



KAZHDAN, ALEXANDER PETROVICH (1922-1997)

ALICE MARY TALBOT

Alexander Petrovich Kazhdan: The American Years

Like the majority of the distinguished American Byzantinists whom we have been memorializing in BSC sessions in recent years, Alexander Kazhdan was an emigré to this country, who fled political and religious persecution in his native land to seek freedom of opportunity in America. I will review only briefly the essential facts of his career in Russia, before turning to the final phase of his life, spent in the United States, the period when I was privileged to work with him and upon which I am most qualified to comment.

Alexander Petrovich Kazhdan was born in Moscow on September 3, 1922, and educated at the Pedagogical College of Ufa, from which he graduated in 1942. Spared from military service by his poor eyesight, he pursued graduate studies at Moscow University, receiving his Ph.D. in 1946 from the Institute of History at the Moscow Academy of Sciences. His dissertation was written under the supervision of Evgenij Kosminskij, a distinguished historian of medieval England, but at his mentor's encouragement the young Kazhdan moved into the study of Byzantium and wrote on Byzantine agrarian relations in the 13th and 14th centuries.

Kazhdan was born into a Jewish family, and although he was himself an atheist his opportunities for scholarly advancement were greatly hindered by the anti-Semitism prevalent in the Soviet Union under Stalin. Thus his early teaching posts were at provincial pedagogical colleges, at Ivanovo, Tula and Velikije Luki, where he suffered particularly from the inadequate libraries and lack of access to foreign books. With the improved climate after the death of Stalin, Kazhdan was finally able to return to Moscow in 1956, and to obtain the position of junior research associate at the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences. With access to decent libraries and much better working conditions, Kazhdan now embarked upon some of his seminal studies in Byzantinology: his *City and Countryside in Ninth-*

and Tenth-Century Byzantium appeared in 1960, his *Byzantine Culture of the 10th-12th c.* in 1968, *The Byzantine Ruling Class in the 11th and 12th c.* in 1974. He was amazingly productive during this phase of his career; by the time of his emigration to America in 1978, his bibliography ran to 555 items, including 14 books!

Anyone perusing Kazhdan's bibliography would realize that some momentous event must have occurred around 1978: up to that date his writings were primarily in Russian, while from 1979 on he wrote primarily in English. And indeed the academic year of 1978-79 was a turning point in the lives of Kazhdan and his wife Rimma (usually called Musya), when they left the Soviet Union for the West. Their only son Dimitri (who later took the name David), a brilliant mathematician, had become a fervent believer in Orthodox Judaism, like so many of his generation of Russian Jews, and found it impossible to practice his religion in the USSR. He therefore eagerly accepted an invitation to become an Assistant Professor at Harvard in 1975, and amazingly was permitted to leave along with his wife and three children. Harvard soon offered him a permanent position on its faculty, and he was appointed a full professor at the age of thirty.

David's emigration, however, made life in Moscow difficult for the Kazhdans; within a month Musya lost her job at a publishing company, and they soon began to make plans to emigrate themselves. Secret negotiations were undertaken with Dumbarton Oaks, which agreed to offer Kazhdan a temporary research position. One of Alexander's greatest concerns about emigration was the shipment of his personal library and notecards to the United States. I still remember that in the fall of 1978 small brown paper packages covered with Russian stamps began to pile up in the mailroom at Dumbarton Oaks, and there was a great mystery as to what they were. Other book packages arrived via the diplomatic pouch, courtesy of friends in a foreign embassy. The Kazhdans had stated in their application for an exit visa that they planned to emigrate to Israel, but once they arrived in Vienna they made it clear that their destination was the United States. After prolonged visits in Paris and Birmingham, the Kazhdans arrived in Washington in February 1979. They lived first in a Dumbarton Oaks apartment ironically situated in a building right next to the Soviet

Embassy, and later took up residence in a small duplex house on the grounds of the Dumbarton Oaks estate. Here they were to live for the next eighteen years; their home became synonymous with Russian hospitality, and countless Byzantinists remember overnight visits with the Kazhdans or delicious vodka-laced dinners prepared by Musya.

Kazhdan was determined to learn the language of his adopted country, and began watching televised college classes in the early morning to improve his vocabulary. Immediately he switched to English as the principal language of his scholarly work, although he never fully mastered his new tongue, and all his articles and books required thorough editing. One could not but admire his determination to improve his English; he read voraciously in British and American literature, and consulted Roget's *Thesaurus* as if it were a Bible. He was never content to confine himself to a limited "safe" vocabulary, but would constantly try out new words and expressions, some of them gleaned from the novel he had read the preceding evening.

Kazhdan was soon granted the permanent position of Senior Research Associate, and rapidly settled into a regular routine of reading and writing in his Dumbarton Oaks office, combined with walks in the gardens or in the Georgetown neighborhood before and after work. In the summer he would swim in the Dumbarton Oaks pool; on weekends he enjoyed longer walks in the countryside or picking mushrooms. He preferred to type on a battered manual typewriter, switching to a word processor only in his final years. We used to say, however, that he wrote more on his typewriter than any of us could manage on computers! He took notes on minuscule cards, a holdover from his days in the Soviet Union when paper was scarce, and typed his articles or book chapters directly from his notecards. These cards were primarily notes on his reading in Byzantine texts, but he also assembled an extraordinary collection of 50,000 cards on Byzantine bibliography (based on the *BZ* bibliographies) which he organized in an idiosyncratic system. If you asked him a bibliographic query, he could usually locate the relevant card within a few seconds! He also used a total of 80,000 cards to prepare both alphabetical and subject concordances to the *History* of Niketas Choniates. When I inventoried his card files following his death, the cards numbered

around 167,000 in all. Almost all of these will eventually form part of the Alexander Kazhdan archive, currently being organized in St. Petersburg.

One of the greatest achievements of Kazhdan's years at Dumbarton Oaks was the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, in three volumes, prepared over a period of seven years from 1984-1991. I had the privilege of serving as Executive Editor of the *ODB* and thus was especially closely associated with Kazhdan during those years. Kazhdan had dreamed for many years of producing such a dictionary, first proposed by Gyula Moravcsik in 1948, and his appointment at Dumbarton Oaks made it possible. With the encouragement of Giles Constable, the Director of D.O., Kazhdan applied to the National Endowment for the Humanities for a major grant to support the preparation of the *ODB*; the Endowment and the Mellon Foundation were to provide generous funding for the duration of the project, to supplement the sponsorship of Dumbarton Oaks. Kazhdan served as Editor-in-Chief of the *ODB*, and was intimately involved in every aspect of its creation, from the initial working lists of entries to the final proofreading. It was he who conceived of the "cluster" approach, whereby a single scholar was responsible for writing a major article on "agriculture", for example, plus all the related short entries, like "plows" and "vineyards". Kazhdan read and edited all the entries and major articles, more than 5,000 in number; he also wrote over 1,000 entries himself, on such varied subjects as literature, patriarchs, bureaucracy, hagiography and the papacy. It is safe to say that without his single-minded determination and devotion to the project, the *ODB* would never have seen the light of day. His efforts were rewarded not only by the enthusiastic and grateful reception of the *ODB* by Byzantinist colleagues, but by awards such as the R.R. Hawkins Award for the Outstanding Scholarly Book in the U.S. in 1991.

Kazhdan's emigration to the United States freed him to explore new areas of inquiry, such as monasticism, and what he called the three H's, hagiography, hymnography and homiletics. Research in these fields was not encouraged in the Soviet Union and, as we have seen, Kazhdan's early work was primarily in the area of social, economic and agrarian history, as considered appropriate for a Marxist historian. To

my surprise, however, I have learned that he made forays into the study of monasteries and saints even during the Soviet part of his career, although sometimes in a disguised fashion. Thus, as early as 1959 he published a Russian translation of the *vita* of the patriarch Euthymios of Constantinople, even though he could not call it a saint's life, but referred to it as the "Chronicle of Psamathia", and included it in a book entitled *Two Byzantine Chronicles of the 10th c.* In 1971 he produced an article on "The Byzantine Monastery of the 11th-12th c. as a Social Group," justifying his investigation as a study of class groupings.

Soon after his emigration to the United States, Kazhdan turned with zeal to the study of a topic he had previously been discouraged from pursuing, the lives of saints. For around three years in the early 80s, he systematically read virtually every published text about holy men and women who lived between the 1st and 10th centuries, and produced about 16,000 of his famous micro-cards, organized by *vita.* His primary interest was in the realia mentioned in these texts, but he also took careful notes on clues to date of composition, prosopography and the like. Some of the results of Kazhdan's readings in hagiography were summarized in a series of "Hagiographical Notes" published in the 1980s in *Byzantion, Byzantinische Zeitschrift* and *Erytheia.* Another fruit of his methodical study was a three-volume work which exists only as a bound typescript in the Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Library. Entitled *The List of Saints of the 1st-10th Centuries in a Chronological Order*, it is a "bio-bibliographical study"[1] of 325 saints of the first ten centuries of the Christian era whose martyria or *vitae* survive in Greek. For each saint there is an introduction which attempts to provide a chronology for the saint and for the composition of the *vita*, a brief summary of the saint's biography, and a comprehensive bibliography of all editions of the *vita* and all the relevant secondary sources. This work, in preliminary draft form, would require extensive checking, editing and rewriting before it could be published, but it

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1. A term borrowed by Kazhdan from U. Chevalier, *Répertoire des sources historiques du moyen âge. Bio-bibliographie*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1905-7).

already serves as a very useful resource for those doing hagiographic research at Dumbarton Oaks.

Another unfinished spin-off from his extensive reading in hagiography is a study of the realia in each saint's life, with particular attention to evidence for changing patterns of urbanism in the Byzantine Empire, a theme treated this morning in the session in Kazhdan's honor. In the back of Kazhdan's mind was always the plan to use hagiographic evidence as a source to prove his thesis of the transformation of the Byzantine city between late antiquity and the middle Byzantine centuries; he drafted a monograph on this theme, but never had the time to revise and publish it.

I have already alluded to Kazhdan's great interest in saints' lives as a source for realia, and the 16,000 cards he produced on this theme. During the late 80s his colleagues became aware of the great usefulness of these little cards, and he would generously lend them out to anyone who needed quicker access to saints' lives. Nevertheless it was a laborious process for a researcher interested in fish or old age or marriage to painstakingly make his or her way through the many boxes of minuscule cards. With advances in computer technology and the development of relational databases, it was suggested that there should be a way to transfer the information on Kazhdan's cards to a computerized database so that searches could be faster and multi-variable. Thus, as the *ODB* project wound down, plans for a new project developed, the Dumbarton Oaks Hagiography Database Project. This project was also to last seven years, and was completed only this year. The project turned out to be more complex than anticipated, and necessitated redoing much of Kazhdan's work. In the end it proved possible to enter data for only three centuries, from the Lives of saints who lived in the 8th-10th centuries. But now anyone interested in realia from these centuries can almost instantaneously retrieve data from 119 *vitae* and synaxarion notices about topics as varied as gardens, eunuchs, construction accidents, and medical treatment. Kazhdan himself, however, who came to computers only late in life, was overawed by the intricacies of the database, and always preferred to consult his little cards rather than the computer.

For the last three to four years of his life Kazhdan worked zealously on what was to be his final project, a *History of Byzantine Literature between 700 and 1200,* planned in six volumes. His colleagues regarded with amazement the way he embarked upon such an ambitious undertaking at the age of 70. Alas, he died before its completion, but two or perhaps three of the volumes were in a sufficiently finished state to go to press, and will be published by the National Research Center in Athens.[2] By unbelievable coincidence he mailed one of the completed volumes off to Greece on the very day of his death. In many ways this history of Byzantine literature represents a culmination of Kazhdan's lifework, in which he summed up decades of critical reading and thoughtful analysis of Byzantine texts. Long sections of the first three volumes are dedicated to the three H's to which I have earlier alluded, hagiography, homiletics and hymnography, mostly produced by monks, such as John of Damascus and Kosmas the Melode. Kazhdan emphasized the monastic production of literature to such an extent that he entitled part 2 of volume 1 "The Predominance of Monastic Culture (ca. 775-ca. 850)." This literary history was written in great haste, with an idiosyncratic approach, but it is a heroic effort at synthesis, that attempts to present the oeuvre of individual writers as a totality, rather than dividing up works of the same author by genre. His book will introduce readers to a wide variety of hitherto little-known Byzantine texts and no doubt prompt lively debate about their interpretation.

Publication of these volumes will enable the scholarly world to more fully assess the extraordinary contributions of Alexander Kazhdan to our discipline, and to understand his own personal evolution from a Marxist historian of agrarian relations during the first phase of his career in the Soviet Union to a much more broadly-based Byzantinist in his final two decades. In the United States there were no limitations on the directions he could pursue, and when left to his own inclinations he read voraciously in formerly forbidden fields such as

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2. The first volume, *A History of Byzantine Literature (650-850),* was published in Athens in 1999.

hagiography and hymnography. He was determined to elevate the standing of Byzantine literature, arguing that it needed to be read as literature, and understood on its own terms. This is what he tried to do in his final *magnum opus*.

Alexander Kazhdan died on May 29, 1997, the 544th anniversary of the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks. His death occurred suddenly, after a full day of work, as he was swimming in the pool at Dumbarton Oaks, amid the gardens where he loved to walk. It is difficult for me to express the void Kazhdan's passing has left at Dumbarton Oaks. His office has remained empty during the past year, almost as a shrine, a constant reminder that he is no longer with us. But he lives on, through his published writings and through the influence he has had on a generation of younger scholars who have developed new interests and methodologies as a result of association with this great master.

Alice-Mary Talbot
Dumbarton Oaks

* These reminiscences are based on published information, personal reminiscences, and conversations with Musya Kazhdan. I am also indebted to the advice of one of Kazhdan's dearest American friends, Michael McCormick, who read and commented on my remarks. Readers seeking further information may consult the article by Anthony Cutler, "Some Talk of Alexander", published in *Homo Byzantinus. Papers in Honor of Alexander Kazhdan* [*DOP* 46 (1992) 1-4], and the bibliography of his works up to 1991 compiled by S. Franklin in the same volume, 5-26; A.E. Laiou and A.-M. Talbot, "Alexander Petrovich Kazhdan, 1922-1997" in *DOP* 51 (1997) xii-xvii; and obituaries in *The Times* (of London), June 12, 1997; *The Guardian*, June 12, 1997 (by J. Herrin); *The Independent*, June 5, 1997 (by A. Bryer); *The New York Times*, June 8, 1997; *The Washington Post*, May 31, 1997.

W. R. W. KOEHLER

(1884-1959)

Senior Fellow in charge of Research

(1941 - 1943)

DAVID H. WRIGHT

Wilhelm Koehler and the Original Plan for Research at Dumbarton Oaks[1]

Wilhelm Reinhold Walter Köhler was born in Reval, Estonia, on 17 December 1884. His father, Franz Eduard Köhler (1840-1919), had been born in Klein-Neuhausen, Thuringia, the son of a Lutheran pastor, and had attended Gymnasium in Weimar before studying

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[1] This article was begun in response to the request of a German friend that I write something about Koehler to explain his work and his exile to the rising generation in Germany. I completed a draft in 1985 and circulated it among several people who had known Koehler, but publishing it in the journal my friend edited proved controversial and I set it aside. In 1991 all my notes and memorabilia were destroyed by fire and so now I have had to rely a great deal on memory. At least I can claim to have known Koehler well in the last decade of his life (when I was a student and then an Instructor at the Fogg); he was also a close friend of my parents during his first two years at Harvard. I went all the way through school and college with his younger son, Andreas, and stayed with the Koehlers after graduation in the summer of 1950 while we both took Basic Design with Josef Albers at the Harvard School of Design. I also knew most of the people who figure in the later part of this article, some well, some casually, others at least by reputation among their peers.I am very grateful for many discussions about Koehler with Ernst Kitzinger and Florentine Mütherich, and also for some discussions with Eleanor Alexander and Elisabeth Sgalitzer Ettinghausen. I am also specially grateful to Dumbarton Oaks for free access to their archives with the expert assistance of James Carder; I have also made some examination of the archives in Vienna, Munich, and Harvard. For biographical reports on Koehler see Florentine Mütherich, "Wilhelm Koehler und der Deutsche Verein für Kunstwissenschaft," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft*, 52-3 (1998-9), 9-23 with full bibliography of Koehler's publications compiled by Fabrizio Crivello. There is an excellent short memoir on Koehler by a committee chaired by Frederick B. Deknatel in the *Harvard University Gazette* for May 21, 1960, pp. 207-8 (repeated in *Art Journal* 20 (1960), 88), and also one by a committee chaired by Kurt Weitzmann in *Speculum* 35 (1960), 519-20.

Classics at Jena and taking his degree at Göttingen in 1865; he began teaching Latin at the Ritter- und Domschule in Reval in 1865 and in 1871 became its Director. In 1880 he had married Wilhelmine Girgensohn, who came from a German family long established in the Baltic region, ennobled by the Tsar around 1840; her grandfather had been a very distinguished Lutheran pastor and her father had followed in his footsteps.

During the Russification of the province in 1892 Franz Köhler lost his position, and moved to Wolfenbüttel, where he taught at the Lehrerinnenseminar and also served as an assistant at the Ducal library, cataloguing Latin and Greek manuscripts, an activity he had previously pursued in Reval; he is credited with many entries in the published Wolfenbüttel catalogue. So Wilhelm grew up in this academic circle in a quiet city with a proud tradition of learning, and later remembered helping his father with his Latin citations.

By the time he had finished Gymnasium he had decided to study Kunstgeschichte and began in 1903 with two semesters under Georg Dehio (1850-1932) at Straßburg, where a new German university had been founded and named for Kaiser Wilhelm thirty years earlier. Dehio was then at the height of his career, having recently finished, with his friend Gustav von Bezold, the five immense volumes of plates and two of text for *Die kirchliche Baukunst des Abendlandes*, and was starting on his comprehensive *Handbuch der deutschen Kunstdenkmäler*.

Next Köhler spent a semester at Bonn, studying with Paul Clemen (1866-1947), a younger and much more cosmopolitan medievalist, who had begun his *Kunstdenkmäler der Rheinprovinz* a dozen years earlier and succeeded to this prestigious chair two years earlier. He was also a devoted observer of contemporary art and while leading a student excursion to Paris he included a visit to Rodin, then arguably the most famous of living artists. This studio visit left an indelible impression on Köhler, then only nineteen years old, deepening his lifelong concern with contemporary art; it was one of the few personal details I ever heard him mention in the classroom.

In the fall of 1904 Köhler moved to Vienna, with its great museums, and studied with Franz Wickhoff (1853-1909), the true founder of the *Wiener Schule der Kunstgeschichte*. He had published his *Wiener Genesis* a decade earlier and was beginning the publication of the series *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich*, but his articles ranged widely through the classical tradition and the Italian Renaissance, always exemplifying his profound visual sensitivity. His lecture courses that Köhler attended were Italienische Kunst im vierzehnten Jahrhundert, Die morellische Methode, Deutsche Naturalismus, and Albrecht Dürer und seine Zeit, but the topics of Wickhoff's seminars are not recorded.

In his first semester Köhler also enrolled in a course on late medieval and Renaissance art north of the Alps offered by Alois Riegl (1858-1905), but Riegl was already gravely ill, and the lectures may not have taken place, for he died in the following June, and the course was later crossed out on Köhler's official record. But even if not by direct instruction Köhler certainly learned from the example of Riegl's analysis of the intrinsic logic and development of ornament, though he was never interested in the theoretical implications in Riegl's work, especially not as they have been debated subsequently.

Actually it was Max Dvořák (1874-1921) who most impressed Köhler; he had begun as Assistent to Wickoff in 1897 and succeeded him upon his death in 1909. He built on the Viennese tradition of visual sensitivity, of curatorial work and Denkmalpflege, to seek a more profound interpretation in historical perspective. He was a historian, as Köhler later wrote, "im allertiefsten und weitesten Sinne," whose scholarship, particularly in his lectures, "war wie eine Snythese von Wickhoff und Riegl." Köhler attended his lectures and seminars regularly but the recorded titles are mostly too general to identify their subjects.

Köhler published his dissertation on Michelangelo's battle cartoon in 1907 and also a review of recent literature on Michelangelo's Medici Chapel. He had finished the work for the degree in 1906 and was then appointed Assistent to Wickhoff; his work was so distinguished that he became known among the young people around the Seminar as "Wickhoffs letzte Blüte." This was the time when the leaders of the Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, including Dvořák, Dehio, and Adolph Goldschmidt in Berlin, were planning a comprehensive series of systematic corpus publications as "Denkmäler deutscher Kunst" and they had Köhler in mind from the start. In 1909 he was assigned Karolingische Miniaturen, which fell within Dvořák's section "Malerei." It was a new field for Köhler but because of his work with his father in Wölfenbüttel, and his intensive course in Latin Palaeography in his first Semester in Vienna, it was not unfamiliar; the project drew on the precedent of the regional volumes in Wickhoff's *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis* but now it was to be international in scope and chronological in organization.

With characteristic energy and dedication Köhler set out to survey all Carolingian manuscripts, whether or not they were reported to contain illumination. He searched library catalogues and other literature to compile lists of Latin manuscripts from the tenth century or earlier; to be safe he even surveyed some reported to date from the eleventh century. In his first official report, for 1909, he described the scope of his survey and explained the principles he would follow. This reads like a description of the discipline now called "codicology." It was an extension of the collective effort among German scholars at that time to develop the gentlemanly study of history of art of earlier generations into the precise discipline of Kunstwissenschaft. Besides requiring a systematic physical description of each manuscript he emphasized the importance of studying the script and the textual affiliations to establish the basic chronology and groupings; among art historical criteria he emphasized the minor ornament and hardly mentioned studying the great illustrations, which were, of course, the ultimate

goal of the project. Indeed, as an appendix to his first reports, in 1911, he published crucial observations on the Vienna Schatzkammer Gospels, separating it from the "Palace" or Reims Schools, connecting it with the isolated purple leaf from Xanten, and reporting the inscription DEMETRIUS PRESBYTER in the margin of the first page of Luke, a name that suggests an eastern source. This famous discovery was fully exploited only in the third volume of the corpus, published shortly after his death in 1959.

Based in Vienna, Köhler continued his systematic investigations, traveling as far as St. Petersburg, and making many photographs. He traveled always with Baedeker in hand, visiting museums and monuments as opportunities offered themselves, for his interest in art was universal. In Vienna he was friendly with Hans Tietze (1880-1954) and his wife, who were devoted patrons of Oskar Kokoschka; in addition to their famous double portrait now in the Museum of Modern Art in New York, they commissioned chalk drawings of their friends, including one of Köhler. One can also imagine him participating in the musical life of Vienna, for he was an accomplished pianist with a special fondness for the German romantics and he had a comprehensive knowledge of the concert and opera repertory. He once remarked to me that hearing the Beethoven Missa Solemnis in the Stefansdom made him realize that it was a profoundly religious work.

But that wonderful time in Vienna, which later he remembered fondly but rarely mentioned, had to stop. Once we were discussing a manuscript in Brescia when he pulled himself back and explained that he had never finished his study of it because while he was there "hostilities broke out and I had to rejoin my regiment." Then he relaxed and remarked that when he reached the Austrian border, in that age when no one carried a passport, he was informally dressed and deeply tanned; the guards thought he was Italian and did not want to let him pass.

His regiment, where he had done his year of service in the midst of his time in Vienna, was based in Jena, presumably because of his grandfather's Thuringian origin, in the army of Saxe-Weimar-

Eisenach, which by the treaty of 1867 was part of the Prussian army. He served as a Lieutenant in Poland until he fell gravely ill in 1915; he was decorated by the Grand Duke "Ritter zweiter Abteilung mit Schwerten." When he recovered he was assigned to the German military government in Brussels as an archivist, working under his former teacher Paul Clemen. The duties included Denkmalpflege, and he once told me he was able to save the bronze decorations of the Palais Stoclet in Brussels by pointing out to the military who wanted to melt them down that this was a Monument of German art (by Josef Hoffmann, 1905) and must not be touched.

During this service, in 1916, he began negotiations with the Grand Ducal authorities in Weimar about assuming the directorship of the museum, with the charge of carrying out a comprehensive reorganization. After a visit at the end of 1917 he accepted the position, realizing he could not expect to continue his research in Vienna as before, but his service in Brussels was prolonged by an assignment in Berlin to edit two volumes of Belgian diplomatic documents from the years 1897-1914.

So he came to Weimar in February of 1919, after a revolutionary interlude, to face extraordinary problems of reorganization. At the same time the National Assembly met in the great Theater to frame a new constitution and Walter Gropius, whom Köhler had known in Vienna but with whom he was never close, reorganized the Grand Ducal schools of fine arts and of applied arts to form the Bauhaus, an institution with which Köhler collaborated quietly. From the beginning he put on exhibitions of advanced contemporary art in the small Museum of Arts and Crafts until the main Art Museum building and the Grand Ducal Schloß were renovated. He began with local artists who worked in expressionist and abstract styles, he showed examples by leading German artists such as Kirchner, Nolde and Lehmbruck, and he even had an exhibition of Dada and Constructivist work, which much of the Weimar press and public criticized harshly. In 1922 he put on a retrospective of Jawlensky and in 1923 he held a major exhibition of the painters and sculptors of the Bauhaus. When the Schloß Museum opened in 1923 he set aside a series of galleries for "Kunst der Lebenden." He worked

constantly to obtain loans from private collectors, showing individual works of Kandinsky, Marc, Gleizes, Metzinger, Severini, Carrà, Lissitzky, Mondrian, etc. At the end of 1923 he put on a large retrospective of Van Doesburg (who had been living in Weimar, hoping to teach at the Bauhaus, but who was not approved by Gropius). He could buy very little of this kind of work, and soon he was forced by popular opinion to be less adventurous in his exhibitions, but in these first years Köhler brought to stodgy Weimar good examples of most of the radical modern art then prominent in famously advanced Berlin.[2]

In 1920 he married Margarete Bittkow, who had been a student at the Grand Ducal art school and now at the Bauhaus, thus increasing his connections with that circle. He was very fond of Lyonel Feininger, and above all of Paul Klee, with whom his wife studied. They lived two doors apart on the street Am Horn, on a bluff overlooking Weimar and backing onto woods. Köhler visited Klee's studio and shared his interest in music. They went on walking trips in the mountains. Köhler once told of the time when there was a fire in the inn where they were staying and after he got out he realized that Klee had not; he went searching and found him still in his room, oblivious of the danger, eagerly sketching the flames. In 1922 the house between them in Weimar burned down, killing an occupant; Klee was moved to interpret the event in his painting "Feuerwind," the only painting in this phase of his career that refers to a specific event, a painting for him strangely harsh and dramatic in form and color, much closer to actuality than usual. A few months later he reworked his ideas for this painting, developing the linear motifs as forms for their own sake, subduing the three-dimensionality and the color, establishing a certain distance from the tragedy. This second

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[2] See Gerda Wendermann, "Förderer und Freund der modernen Kunst: Wilhelm Köhler als Director der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen Weimar," in *Aufstieg und Fall der Moderne* (Hatje Cantz Verlag, 1999), p. 308-35, and other articles in this excellent Weimar exhibition catalogue.

painting was so important to Klee that he kept it, and gave it to his wife in 1932 to mark a special occasion[3].

During his years in Vienna Köhler had not bothered to go through the Habilitation routine and of course he could do nothing of the sort during the war and the first years afterwards. So the premature death of Max Dvořák in 1921 (only 47 years old) caught him unprepared to succeed to the chair in Vienna, as he had always hoped, and as it is reported Dvořák wanted. Of course in Viennese eyes Köhler was a foreigner, and in the ensuing manoeuvres Julius von Schlosser (1866-1938), with whom Köhler had studied briefly, got the chair; he too had studied with Wickhoff before going into museum administration but his scholarship took a very different approach, concentrating on textual sources. It was a bitter and lasting disappointment for Köhler, but he turned then to Jena, where he became Privatdozent in 1923, auserordentlicher Professor in 1924.

During this time his museum work was so demanding that Köhler could not resume research for his corpus of *Karolingische Miniaturen*, but he did publish various reviews and occasional pieces, and three important articles in Festschriften: a survey of Carolingian manuscripts in Belgium in *Belgische Kunstdenkmäler*, edited by Paul Clemen in 1923, an article separating the Ada Group from its later imitators in the Clemen Festschrift (1926), and a study of the early Tours manuscripts in the Degering Festschrift (1926). Then in 1928 he found time to return to Paris once again to finish his study of the great Tours books. He wrote for current advice on hotels to his friend Erwin Panofsky, who recommended the celebrated Hôtel du Quai Voltaire but mentioned another hotel on

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[3] The first version is 1922/17 in Klee's autograph oeuvre-catalogue and 2841 in *Paul Klee Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. III (Bern 1999), with color illustration on p. 390; it is now in a Swiss private collection. The final version is in the Kunstmusem at Bern and is inscribed "1923/43 Feuerwind S[onder] Cl[asse] für Lily zum 10. Okt. 1932;" and is 3136 in the *Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. IV, 2000. There is also an intermediate pencil drawing recorded in the oeuvre-catalogue as 1922/190, now in the Kupferstichkabinett at Basel (vol. III, no.3015).

the Rue des Beaux-Arts that was one third cheaper (which Köhler took).

Finally, in 1930 came the first volume of *Die Karolingische Miniaturen*, bringing Köhler the international recognition he deserved, for that first volume of 435 pages remains today unsurpassed as an analysis of stylistic development in ornament, penetrating the visual rationale of the ornament, and convincingly establishing the attribution and chronology of the manuscripts. In the *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeiger* for 1931 he reviewed *A Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours* by Edward Kennard Rand of Harvard (with whom he had shared photographs), pointing out in fifteen densely packed pages the many errors and hopeless opinions Rand had put forward. In the same issue Rand reviewed Köhler's book at similar length, disagreeing, but ultimately unable to defend himself against Köhler's systematic and comprehensive organization of evidence. And still in this issue Dom Donatien De Bruyne commented on the problems involving biblical texts in Tours manuscripts, generally endorsing Köhler's results. Then in 1933 came the second text volume, with Köhler's systematic treatment of the great Tours illustrations, his subtle analysis of spatial construction in them, and his brilliant discussion of their stylistic sources, which Carl Nordenfalk in his review characterized as epoch-making.

Meanwhile a crisis developed in Köhler's direction of the Museum. Despite considerable local opposition, the kind of local opposition that had driven the Bauhaus out of Weimar five years earlier, Köhler had made a point of continuing to exhibit contemporary art, especially the work of Feininger and Klee. But in 1930 a right-wing coalition took control of the Land Thüringen and the Nazi Party was given two ministries. Wilhelm Frick, a Bavarian from Hitler's inner circle, eventually tried and hanged at Nürnberg, was Innen- und Volksbildungsminister and used his position to place Nazis in the police, to promote anti-semitism, and to intervene in the school system. At the same time the Nazi ideologue Paul Schultze-Naumburg took over the state art school that had been the Bauhaus. Together they inspected Köhler's museum, and one day that fall

Frick telephoned Köhler to give orders that all modern art was to be removed from exhibition that very day.[4]

Köhler was profoundly shocked, and others in the museum profession voiced concern, but Frick lost his position the next spring, and optimists thought the episode was over. Köhler saw the situation differently. His brother Wolfgang (1887-1967), the Gestalt psychologist, then Professor in Berlin, had already taught in America, and now encouraged him to look there. He put out feelers promptly and was exploring a possibility with Richard Offner at New York University when in May 1931 he received a definite offer from Harvard to serve as Kuno Franke Professor of German Art and Culture for 1932-3. He got leave from the Museum and from Jena, left his family in Weimar, and in September reached Cambridge, where he was assigned quarters in Leverett House, one of the residential units that had been established the previous year, modeled on the Oxbridge colleges, with a staff of tutors and faculty associates. My father was an active member of Leverett House and liked to refer to it as "the best men's club in Cambridge." Köhler soon felt at home and flourished in the lively Senior Common Room conversation, even if here, at the dawn of the New Deal, views expressed tended to be further to the left than his own rather conservative instincts. Leverett House was sometimes referred to at that time as "Moscow on the Charles."

He taught a graduate course each term, "The Bible of St. Paul and its Relations to Carolingian Art" in the fall and "Problems of German Painting of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries" in the Spring, and he gave a series of public lectures in German, held in the Germanic Museum, which in the fall treated German painting of the fifteenth century; he also lectured on German Baroque architecture and contemporary art in Germany. The visit was so successful that it

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[4] Horst Dauer, "Die Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Weimar unter Wilhelm Koehler und die Maler am Bauhaus 1919 bis 1930. Ein Quellenbericht," in *Museum und Gegenwart*, Kolloquium am 25. September 1985 in Halle (Verband Bildender Künstler der DDR), pp. 42-52, particularly p.48.

was arranged for him to come back in the same position for the fall of 1933-4.

But when he returned to Weimar for the summer the régime had changed and the new Nazi Volksbildungsminister in Weimar reported to the Reichsminister für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda in Berlin that while in America Köhler had witnessed the spread of "Falschmeldungen" concerning developments in Germany, that because of the prestige for German scholarship of the renewed appointment and because Köhler will now inform himself correctly on conditions in Germany, and on his return to America will combat anti-German propaganda, the Minister has granted leave for that return. Köhler was invited to come to Berlin for further instructions before leaving. As a result, in January 1934, approaching the end of his second visit in Cambridge, Köhler sent five pages of confidential report to the Minister in Weimar, putting the best face he could on this, pointing out that he had taken every opportunity to include Thuringian art in his public lectures, that German scholarship was highly respected in American universities, but gently suggesting that some German propaganda could be counterproductive with ordinary Americans, that encouraging existing German-American friendship societies would be more beneficial.

By that time, however, Köhler's situation had changed completely. In the summer of 1933 Arthur Kingsley Porter vanished, drowned off the island of Inish Bofin, County Donegal, where he had built a hut for his summer escape. So there was a vacancy at Harvard, which was offered to Köhler. He returned to Weimar as the Nazi regime clamped down, but only to wind up his affairs and move his family to Cambridge. He became officially an Associate of Leverett House and that fall he met another newcomer at the House, Gaetano Salvemini (1873-1957), the most prominent leader of anti-fascist exiles, who had been forced out of his Professorship of modern history in Florence in 1925, and had spent the intervening years mostly in Paris and London writing and organizing resistance to the fascist regime. He had also taught briefly at Harvard and at Yale but now he taught Italian history at Harvard half of each year. This was a meeting of two great scholars, both deeply immersed in

European culture, both forced into exile in America by taking a stand for intellectual freedom, but while Salvemini remained a political leader and activist, Koehler (as he soon spelled his name) was content to adapt himself to his new location.

For two years the family lived in Cambridge and Mrs. Koehler learned English, and learned to drive a car, as Koehler never did. Then they moved to a comfortable secluded house near the top of Belmont Hill, with a large garden backing onto a golf course, a location much like the Director's house in Weimar, but more isolated and further from Harvard than most faculty then lived. Koehler was no longer an outgoing temporary bachelor, a regular in the Senior Common Room, and gradually he withdrew from Leverett House; he tended to withdraw to his study and concentrate on his teaching and research.

It was a strange Department of Fine Arts he had joined. Kingsley Porter had been the only member with an international scholarly reputation. The great strength of the Department was the Museum Course given by Paul J. Sachs (1878-1965), a year-long series of seminar discussions and visits to museums, collectors, and dealers, especially in New York. The students got good training in connoisseurship and above all they learned the ropes and established personal connections; alumni of the course dominated the museum profession in America for fully a generation.

With the loss of Porter the scholarly program of the Department was largely dominated by Chandler Rathfon Post (1881-1959), who had begun in Spanish literature, had turned to Greek literature, and then settled into the Fine Arts Department in 1920. His twenty volumes of *A History of Spanish Painting*, which barely reach the sixteenth century, sit untouched on many a library shelf; all his mature articles are spinoffs of this project, which is concerned almost exclusively with attribution. He taught the Italian Renaissance, Spanish art, and modern sculpture, always in a mechanical fashion emphasizing rote memory, untouched by German scholarship; he was famous for his wit and charm but also for nit-picking questions on examinations, particularly on doctoral

orals, where he failed several students who later became outstanding scholars in the profession (including Alfred Barr and Henry-Russell Hitchcock).

Several of the younger faculty were his pupils, generally more humane in attitude but not much more imaginative and not productive in scholarship. There was also Kenneth Conant (1894-1992), properly in the School of Design, but popular with the students of Fine Arts. He was a gifted draftsman, trained as an architect, and his enthusiasm for architecture was contagious but his scholarship was personal and intuitive, also quite untouched by German scholarship. Then there was Arthur Pope (b. 1880), a longtime local fixture who ran a small program in academic drawing and some extension into painting (required of all concentrators until 1950) and from it developed his own theoretical terminology of visual style to be applied to all art, east and west. Koehler was the first foreigner to join the Department and he found himself working in isolation; in 1938 he was joined by Jakob Rosenberg (1893-1980), with whom he was quite friendly, and by George Hanfmann (1911-86) who was not his preferred choice for the position in classical art (he wanted Otto Brendel).

Koehler took his teaching duties very seriously, at first writing out his two lectures a week in careful English, including in them a systematic review of existing scholarship (in the German manner of university lectures); for his first year this was a survey of Romanesque art in all media, throughout Europe, in his second year it was the same scale of treatment for Early Christian and Early Byzantine art (to 800). Considering that Kingsley Porter's teaching, though distinguished in intellectual level, had been much more limited in scope, reflecting his personal interests, and that Kenneth Conant's teaching of the same periods of architecture was quite superficial, aimed more at architects and amateurs than at scholars, Koehler's first teaching must have seemed a new and formidable dose of international scholarship for the Fogg program.

As he looked around the Department,he saw that the required introductory survey, as then expected in America, was compre-

hensive but superficial, devoted entirely to rote memory and based on textbooks written by older members of the Department. He decided to develop a different kind of introductory course. He gave it first in the fall of 1935 under the title "Interpretation of Selected Works of Art: an Introduction to Art History" and it was listed as an integral part of the undergraduate program, to be taken in addition to the traditional survey; the next year it became a full-year course. He continued to give some version of this course, often for only one term, almost every year, but the purpose of the course changed in his mind as he realized that the greatest need was to reach students from other fields, students who had time for only one course in Fine Arts and would be most helped by close study of selected works, including works in local museums. One of the later versions was called simply Great Artists.

He would start the course with a prolonged examination of a comparison that raised basic issues for stylistic analysis and for interpretation of form. For painting this could be Giotto's Flight into Egypt in the Arena Chapel compared to a small Rubens sketch of the same subject in Kassel. For sculpture it could be the Orpheus relief from around 425 BC compared to Rodin's marble group of Orpheus and Eurydice in the Metropolitan Museum. In both cases he would patiently lead students to understand the formal qualities of shallow and of deep spatial construction, and the expressive effects of monumentality within spatial limits and of dramatic action forward and back in deep space. In effect he was bringing to an American introductory course the same sophisticated visual analysis he had applied to the great miniatures of the School of Tours. After such an introduction he would proceed with selected case studies in chronological order, leaping from masterpiece to masterpiece, and he would reach contemporary art. But he could not resume his museum sponsorship of contemporary art since the local museums were not responsive.

The handwritten texts of his lectures during his first two years (in the Harvard Archives) have additions on them indicating that he used them more than once but the audience for such a course was small and he soon found it more effective to speak ex tempore,

guided only by a list of the relatively few slides he would use, carefully arranged for successive interlocking comparisons. His searching analysis of form and his profound explanation of meaning held the students in thrall, particularly in his introductory course. He continued to give a basic course in early medieval art from time to time and in the spring of 1940 he offered a course on Byzantine art, but he also offered advanced lecture courses on Rubens and Rembrandt and on Michelangelo. And every year he offered a graduate seminar called simply Methods of Research; the specific subjects are only rarely recorded, but they might range widely. Very few students chose to work with him at the doctoral level, but some of the best Harvard graduate students, such as Sydney Freedberg, were profoundly influenced by studying with Koehler in seminars far from their own fields.

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In the fall of 1940 Mr. and Mrs. Bliss, who had no children, gave Dumbarton Oaks to Harvard, as they had long planned. Inaugural lectures were quickly arranged to celebrate the event in November 1940, and published the next year as the first volume of *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*. The four papers made a strange combination. Henri Focillon, who had been teaching at Yale and completely dominated the thinking of that Department, spoke first on "Préhistoire et moyen age;" it was an unhistorical series of observations wrapped in high French rhetoric, surely the silliest piece ever published by Dumbarton Oaks, but in fact it was exactly what Mrs. Bliss wanted. Michael Rostovzteff spoke on "The Near East in the Hellenistic and Roman Times," a summary in broad strokes (without footnotes) of economic and social developments viewed in terms of the dichotomy between classical and oriental traditions from Alexander to Constantine. Charles Rufus Morey spoke on "The Early Christian Ivories of the Eastern Empire," extracts from his previous work and that of his pupils, gravely handicapped by his impossible hypothesis of an "Alexandrian style" and his strangely mechanical conception of iconographic transmission. In published form his article is

argumentative in tone, with lengthy footnotes, for he knew that Koehler and other specialists not among the circle of devoted Morey disciples found his work quite unconvincing. Only Koehler's talk, "Byzantine Art in the West," was for the time a major contribution to the field. Beginning with a close analysis of the figures painted in the apse at Berzé-la-Ville around 1110, he characterized the dynamic "damp fold" style of drapery that gave the figures a new three-dimensional and organic quality, he showed similar qualities soon appearing elsewhere in Europe, and showed that the source must be Byzantine painting of the eleventh century. He followed the development as far as the central portal of the west facade of Chartres, characterizing the quality of animation in the face of Christ at Chartres and pointing to earlier Byzantine precedents; he even speculated on parallel developments in philosophy, and he characterized Byzantium as "the guardian of legacies from classical antiquity which had not survived in the Occident." It was a highly stimulating performance and he wrote it out afterwards deliberately reproducing his informal lecture style and his careful sequence of slides, for he considered this a preliminary essay, not a definitive article.

Because of his obvious scholarly qualifications Koehler was now assigned to organize the academic program for Dumbarton Oaks. He assumed the task confidently and enthusiastically because he saw an opportunity to lead advanced research in a manner comparable to what he had known as a young man in Vienna. He visited Dumbarton Oaks at the beginning of 1941 to look into the facilities; he drew up a detailed program, which was included in the special issue of the *Bulletin of the Fogg Museum of Art* in March, devoted entirely to Harvard's new institution. The basis of his system was similar to that still used in the various branches of the Deutsches archäologisches Institut: promising young scholars who had already completed the Ph.D. were to be given fellowships expected to last for two or three years during which they were to devote half of their time to the collective research project organized by Koehler and have half of their time free for their own research. The historians and philologists were to search original sources for passages

relevant to art while the archaeologists and art historians were to review existing literature on Late Antique sites, to review problems revealed by the literature and compile critical dossiers with copies of published illustrations, always in close collaboration with Koehler. (The two groups came to be known eventually as the word boys and the picture boys). Unlike the German institutes this was to be a relatively large group of Fellows actively collaborating as a team under the continuous supervision of a senior scholar. The long-term goal was the publication of an anthology of sources and the preparation of a "Research Archive" to be made available to all studying at Dumbarton Oaks and to prepare for future field work. This scheme promised both excellent opportunities for young scholars and a program of organized research of great benefit to the profession.[5] But at the start Koehler could hardly imagine the difficulties that lay ahead. To understand them requires considerable background explanation.

Robert Woods Bliss (1875-1962) was the son of the U. S. Attorney in St. Louis, who also had successful railroad interests. He graduated from Harvard in 1900 and entered the diplomatic service, assigned variously to Venice, St. Petersburg, Brussels, Buenos Aires, The Hague, and then most of the time from 1912 to 1920 in Paris; after some years back in Washington and then in Stockholm he was made Ambassador to Argentina in 1927. As a staunch Republican he took retirement in 1933 because he was so opposed to Roosevelt, but he returned to the State Department during the war (1942-5) and among other things arranged for the international conference that planned the United Nations to take place at Dumbarton Oaks in 1944. He was an impressive man, every inch a diplomat, and he was a very public-spirited citizen, serving on many institutional boards; he was elected to the Harvard Board of

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5 Half way through the first year of the program he published a brief report on it in the *College Art Journal* 1 (1942), 34-6, and he gave a longer report at a meeting of the College Art Association, which later was published in *Speculum* 18 (1943), 118-23: "The Dumbarton Oaks Program and the Principle of Collaborative Research."

Overseers for the term of 1939-45 and served as the Chairman of the Visiting Committee for the Fogg Museum. He had a very good eye for quality in art but he had no direct experience of advanced research.

In 1908 he married an heiress, Mildred Barnes (1880-1969) who had been his stepsister since 1894, when after his mother's death his father had married Anna Blaksley, who had been married to Demas Barnes (1827-1888); Mildred was their daughter. Barnes had been born in remote upstate New York, but moved to the city in 1848 to set himself up as a merchant. An ambitious man, he traveled to San Francisco by stagecoach in 1865 to look into possibilities, but returned to New York and was elected to Congress as a Democrat for the term 1867-9. Then he went into patent medicines, amongst other things investing in 1871 in Fletcher's Castoria, which became a phenomenally popular laxative for children, still sold today ("Children Cry for It"). He also went into real estate and was an original investor in the Brooklyn Bridge when it was a private company. He made a vast fortune; Mildred was *une jeune fille bien élevée*.

The Blisses developed a passionate interest in Byzantine art, traveling widely, including to Greece and Turkey, and collecting at a time when major pieces were on the market. In 1920 they bought the Dumbarton Oaks estate and set about restoring it and its gardens, intending to retire there. They also bought wisely for what is now called the House Collection, including good examples as diverse as El Greco and Riemenschneider, and a superb early Rouault. Mrs. Bliss also collected rare books on gardens, while Mr. Bliss quietly, on his own, collected Pre-Columbian art. As early as 1932 they approached President Lowell about eventually giving their estate to Harvard as a research institution and there were more detailed discussions in 1936 with the new President Conant. The discussions were conducted primarily by Paul J. Sachs, Mr. Bliss's classmate, but always included Edward Waldo Forbes (1873-1969), the Director of the Fogg Museum. By 1937 acquisitions for the Bliss's private library were being organized for future institutional use, the Census of Byzantine Works of Art in American Collections was

started in 1938, and a new wing was built for the museum in 1940, all before the official gift.

The other crucial player in this situation was Paul J. Sachs (1878-1965). After Harvard he had gone into the family firm; his father was the Sachs and his mother's father the Goldman of the investment bankers Goldman Sachs; he became a partner in 1904. But he had developed a passionate interest in prints; when he had reached 21 he was given a substantial sum and spent the whole of it in a couple of weeks starting his collection, a collection that soon expanded to include drawings and other works and became justly renowned. In 1912 Forbes visited him in New York to ask him to join the Visiting Committee for the Fogg Museum and in 1915 to become Assistant Director of the Museum. Together they raised the money for the new building finished in 1927. Sachs taught a year at Wellesley and then became Assistant Professor at Harvard in 1917 and was promoted in due course. He taught courses on French painting and on prints and drawings and he started the museum course in 1921. He lived on a grand estate in Cambridge, "Shady Hill," where his committees normally met; he was a generous philanthropist and cordial host, but he was also an imperious administrator who ran a tight ship. During the time concerned here he had been Chairman of the Department of Fine Arts since 1933, Associate Director of the Fogg Museum, and also chairman of every committee involved with Dumbarton Oaks. He was determined to have the new institution succeed, and above all that meant pleasing Mrs. Bliss. Sachs was a superb connoisseur and published occasionally on drawings but he had no experience with the kind of organized research Koehler was planning, and he was never close to Koehler personally. He also insisted on holding Department and Committee meetings at Shady Hill in the evening, often continuing in friendly fashion well past midnight, and that was hard for Koehler, who lived in Belmont and did not drive.

Another important player was John S. Thacher (1904-82). Coming from a wealthy New York family he graduated from Yale in 1927 and completed a Ph.D. in London in 1936. Then he became an assistant to the Directors of the Fogg Museum and assisted in

Sachs's Museum Course. Sachs trusted him and sent him to Washington in 1940 to be the Executive Officer in charge of the collections and the buildings, and their modifications. He was a suave bachelor, thoroughly at home in the world of museums and art dealers. During the war he found a desk job in the Navy Department in Washington with the rank of Lieutenant, j.g., and in March 1944 was jumped to the rank of Lieutenant Commander to serve as an aide to the Chief of the French Naval Mission, but he continued to live at Dumbarton Oaks and manage all affairs there. He had a good eye but he had no commitment to scholarship and no respect for archaeological integrity.

Mrs. Bliss made trouble right from the start. She regarded Dumbarton Oaks as her baby and she was determined that it be run exactly as she wanted. And she had a temperament to match her red hair (as I once heard her remark casually). She admired Focillon above all other art historians; Koehler found him insufferable, both in his personal expectations and in his high-flown but empty French rhetoric. To please her Sachs installed Focillon at Dumbarton Oaks for most of 1941, giving public lectures "L'Histoire de l'art et la vie de l'esprit." Also without Koehler's participation he invited Morey to spend half of each week in the spring of 1941 at Dumbarton Oaks holding seminars, watching over three Junior Fellows from his own circle, and especially encouraging his disciple Edward Capps, Jr., who was trying to write a book on early Christian ivories. Morey (1877-1955) was a man of extraordinary charm, indeed a magnetic personality, but his dogmas about early Christian art would not stand the scrutiny of German scholarship; fortunately Mrs. Bliss was not specially attracted to him.

The Blisses regularly spent the winter at what had been her mother's estate in Santa Barbara. So Mrs. Bliss wrote long letters to Thacher, mostly about housekeeping and the gardens, but on January 16, 1942, before Koehler's visit to inspect the facilities, realizing his forthcoming duties at Dumbarton Oaks, she stated her absolute opposition to him:

> He will give great intellectual stimulus to the staff and one likes to think that he is going to be closely interested in Dumbarton Oaks. You won't forget, will you, that Focillon does not agree with Koehler's approach to his subject and that it is Focillon who seems to us to have the Golden Key.

Thacher replied, gently endorsing Koehler. Then on April 25th Thacher wrote again explaining that he would try to work out with Sachs a scheme to have Koehler be Director of Research but come to Washington only for an occasional visit. In the end Koehler's title was Senior Fellow in Charge of Research and he lived in the Fellows Building, but he gladly agreed not to give public lectures, in effect not to be too conspicuous a presence.

The program began in October of 1941 and the first group of Junior Fellows included Paul Alexander, Milton Anastos, Herbert Bloch, and Ernst Kitzinger (who reached Washingotn only in December). The Fellows worked every morning on the collective project (each Fellow being assigned a certain region or certain authors), leaving the afternoons for their own work; they met with Koehler one morning each week, presenting their results for full discussion. Excellent group morale developed quickly as they shared ideas about the problems they encountered in their critical reading and received Koehler's suggestions. After a visit to Washington, Sachs, on March 12, 1942, reported to the Blisses in most enthusiastic terms, describing the workings of the group as "a beautiful and inspiring thing. ...[Koehler] participates actively and guides the talk when guidance is necessary. There is no tension. There is no pedantry; in all there is the 'camaraderie' of alert and intelligent young people." And he added that "there is no slightest doubt in the mind of any member of the Board of the need for continuing Koehler's supervision of our work." In fact there was great hesitation. The question had come up by accident at a Board meeting five days earlier, after Koehler's oral report. Koehler then withdrew to allow the others to discuss freely; Thacher hoped that Koehler could supervise but not be in Washington, Forbes wanted to delay a decision, but it was agreed that courtesy required a positive vote.

That did not sit well with the Blisses. Mrs. Bliss finally responded to Sachs in a dictated letter of May 9th, signed with an annotation by Mr. Bliss explaining that she was momentarily in hospital and that he agreed fully with all her remarks. Of Koehler's project she wrote: "The conception seems to us excellent as far as it goes, to study the monuments and the sources. But although we are conscious that Professor Koehler loves the subject for itself, we are equally conscious of his lack of radial quality." She does not explain this term but she apparently means the rhetoric of Focillon. She went on: "his contribution to Dumbarton Oaks has already been made in the pattern of research work ... but we also feel that that pattern can be carried on by other scholars who do not suffer from the racial defects which inevitably become troublesome in the long run." She mentioned "racial characteristics which have manifested themselves over two thousand years ... a compound of insensitiveness, self-centeredness, and a strange combination of sentimentality and materialism." The Blisses wanted Koehler to come to Washington to supervise only occasionally, "as a shock troop, as it were."

Mrs. Bliss had met Koehler only briefly at the inaugural lectures. He was a continental gentleman of the old school, but his accent was obviously German, and he was a north German, who would seem reserved and stiff to Mrs. Bliss. Even his beginning his inaugural lecture in the Burgundian countryside, his emphasis on French material, his daring speculation about developments in philosophy, and his resounding conclusion about Byzantium as a preserver of the Classical heritage could not save him. Later when she learned that he was not yet an American citizen she was offended; in fact, he had delayed his application until war broke out and the process took five years at that time. The root cause was that in the First World War she had seen enough of the destruction and suffering in France to become pathologically anti-German. Indeed, her concept of race is appalling. She responded warmly to the Junior Fellows Alexander, Bloch, and Kitzinger, all German refugees, still German citizens with recognizable German accents, all German and secular in culture, but because of Jewish ancestry not members of the hated German race. Later, on June 3rd, Mr. Bliss (then in Washington)

wrote Sachs (in Cambridge) about appointing Fellows, urging that there should not be "too high a percentage of Germans" and that "it would obviously be unwise to have both Germans and Italians simultaneously in residence here during the war." Koehler, of course, knew nothing of these messages. He knew only that his program had been praised and his reappointment recommended unanimously by the board.

Meanwhile, Thacher had seen an interesting second-century Roman ivory at Brummer's gallery in New York and asked for photographs; he mentioned it on the phone to Mr. Bliss and when the photographs reached Washington he showed them to Koehler who put them before the Junior Fellows. Following their "very lively discussion" he had them write short reports, Alexander on the inscription, Bloch on the meaning of the scene, and Kitzinger on the style. He sent this to Mr. Bliss on April 21st (a month before the Blisses were due in Washington) together with his "consideration of the important role which this ivory will play in future research on Late Antique and Byzantine art" because he had "learned that you and Mrs. Bliss were interested in the ivory." This letter and dossier were so important to Koehler as a demonstration of the collaborative cross-disciplinary research he was promoting, and his own return to museum activity, that he kept a copy of it at home in his desk until his death.

Mrs. Bliss, however, responded to Thacher that "Professor Koehler's letter seems to take it for granted that we were contemplating acquiring it -- why?" Koehler could do no right in her eyes. In fact Mr. Bliss had already responded positively on March 27th to Thacher's phone call and in the end, with the strong endorsement of Paul Sachs, and Brummer saying he had another offer, the Blisses contributed much of the cost of the piece, the rest coming from the disposal of unneeded works in the house. It is number 1 in Kurt Weitzmann's catalogue of the ivories, with an acknowledgement of the research by the three Junior Fellows.

When the Blisses finally reached Dumbarton Oaks, near the end of the term, Koehler invited them to the final meeting of Fellows on

May 26th (writing by hand on polite stationary) with talks by Bloch, Anastos, and Alexander, and his own summary on the year's work. This was all too serious for Mrs. Bliss. She apparently expected the Fellows to go for walks in the gardens and think of grand generalizations in the maner of Focillon. When she had written Sachs that she hoped Koehler would be "closely interested in Dumbarton Oaks" she apparently expected him to care almost as deeply as she did about her gardens. Of course she had no understanding of precise scholarship, she did not have a good eye, and she had a very subjective approach to history. The previous winter, when Royall Tyler insisted on removing from exhibition a head labeled "Constantius," and all experts rejected it as hopelessly recut, she had written Thacher on January 16th that she did not consider it so inferior, that "it does to me suggest the dissolute princeling of the Byzantine period, when the New Deal from Palestine plus the eastern capital outdistancing the pomp of Rome had put them all in a highly puzzled frame of mind. Constantius certainly looks dissolute and puzzled -- perhaps only by his own excesses and impending Nemesis!"

At the end of June, 1942, Harvard changed the administrative structure of Dumbarton Oaks to have an Administrative Committee consisting of Sachs as Chairman, Bliss, Forbes, and Thacher, and (to represent the Administration) John C. Baker, then Associate Dean of the University; he came from the Business School and had no experience of research in the humanities, but he made an honest effort to visit Dumbarton Oaks and to understand its purpose. This Committee administered the budget "consistent with the functions of the Board of Scholars," which consisted of seven members of the Harvard faculty and four from other universities. This arrangement would avoid the embarrassing incident of reappointing Koehler prematurely and it meant that real authority lay with five men determined to please Mrs. Bliss, inclined to be wary of Koehler as being too controversial, and none of them active research scholars.

Koehler's program went well the second year. After further consideration, including reading comments from some of the Fellows, particularly from Kitzinger, whom the Blisses greatly

admired, Mr. Bliss wrote Sachs on August 13th endorsing Koehler's program, saying "we are agreed that it is most helpful, not to say essential, to have his guidance and supervision continue for the present." He had earlier endorsed the appointment of Robert Pierpont Blake as Senior Fellow in Residence (but not "in Charge of Research") as "a very stimulating influence," adding that Blake and Koehler would be excellent "foils for one another," as indeed they were. Blake (1886-1950) was a very distinguished Byzantine historian with extensive experience in the Caucasus and the Near East, who had also served as Director of the University Library. Alexander and Anastos had both studied with him at Harvard and now worked closely with him, making great progress in organizing the Fontes (as the collection of sources was now called) in parallel with the Archives.

As a demonstration of all this progress, on January 25, 1943 there was an evening meeting with President Conant and Dean Buck, presided over by Sachs; afterwards an edited transcript of ten mimeographed pages was distributed so that all concerned with Dumbarton Oaks could read the statements by Koehler and Blake on the purposes and progress of the Archives and Fontes, and also the presentations by the six Junior Fellows of examples of their work and explanations of its significance for the collective enterprise.

Later that spring another program suddenly arose. For several months Sachs had been involved with people at Harvard, the Metropolitan Museum, and the National Gallery who wanted to be sure that when American forces invaded Europe they would be well prepared to protect cultural monuments. Koehler and the Fellows were among those called on to draw up handbooks for protection and conservation, and detailed lists of important monuments, country by country, without knowing where the invasion would come. On May 27 Koehler's friend Mason Hammond from the Classics Department at Harvard, now a Captain in the Air Force and designated to supervise the protection of monuments, called on him for advice and Koehler told him about his own experience in Brussels but could not find for him a copy of Paul Clemen's book on the wartime protection of monuments. Only when Hammond got to

Algiers ten days later was he informed that he would be going to Sicily, and when he joined the secret military government unit drawing up plans there was only one copy of the Touring Club Italiano handbook for all to share. Much later Hammond wrote a small guide for G.I.s when they had leave in Sicily.[6]

For the third year of the program it was decided by general agreement that both Blake and Koehler would go back to teaching at Harvard but visit Dumbarton Oaks once a month to supervise the Fellows, who turned out to be only five art historians, once the others had left for duty with the Office of Strategic Services. The Senior Follows in Residence (but not "in charge of Research") were Edward Kennard Rand (1871-1945), already retired from the Classics Department, and Giorgio La Piana (1879-1971), from the Divinity School and the History Department. Rand, descended from early settlers in the Massachusetts Bay Company, was a very prominent figure at Harvard, and he sought to take charge at Dumbarton Oaks. He was an exacting Latin philologist and also a successful popularizer, but his approach to palaeography, which he had studied with Traube in 1899-1900, was philological and mechanical. Unlike E. A. Lowe, who studied with Traube a few years later, Rand never understood the visual aspect, the development of style in script; accordingly Koehler's review of his work on the script of Tours had demonstrated many errors in his conclusions. Furthermore, by this time age had taken its toll and Rand's mind had slowed.

La Piana was a Sicilian, born near Monreale, educated and ordained there; he completed his Ph.D. at Palermo in 1912 on an aspect of Byzantine liturgy and then joined his brothers in Milwaukee, where in a trivial incident he was banned from saying mass. He was a Modernist among priests, already at odds with the Church. While he never left the Church and never married, he became an instructor in church history at the Harvard Divinity School in 1915, and began publishing throughout a wide

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[6] See Lynn H. Nicholas, *The Rape of Europa* (New York, 1994), pp. 220-23, etc.

chronological range, including early Christianity. He was a strong anti-fascist, a close friend of Salvemini, and also a member of Leverett House, where Koehler would have known him, but he was not acquainted with advanced scholarship in the history of art. Both Rand and La Piana let the Fellows know through casual remarks and general attitude that they had no respect for that discipline. Realizing the developing situation, Sachs wrote Thacher on February 14, 1944, reporting that there was a possibility that Anastos might be released from duty with OSS and return to his Junior Fellowship "and it would be of special significance as far as Rand and La Piana are concerned. In fact I think it would make all the difference in the world if they had an honest-to-goodness disciple associated with them."

This year Rand and La Piana alternated in a series of weekly public lectures, Rand on "A Classical Approach to Byzantium" and La Piana on "Christian Thought in Relation to Pictorial Representation." A highly qualified scholar who was a Junior Fellow that year reports that La Piana's lectures were flimsy, with slides shown essentially as decoration to his remarks developed from textual material. During Koehler's January visit he responded strongly to what he took to be La Piana's criticism of the Archives; La Piana took offense but later explained that he "did not think that a personal debate in the presence of the Junior Fellows was in order." Koehler had always worked closely and collaboratively with the Fellows, leading to excellent morale in the collective effort, as Sachs had recognized two years earlier, but Rand, who took the lead, and La Piana wanted pupils to supervise and did not attempt to share ideas informally.

During a visit late in February Koehler became seriously ill with pneumonia and was in hospital for about three weeks. On the morning of the day he was to be released from the hospital Rand and La Piana summoned each of the Junior Fellows, one by one, to a conference in which they asked each to draw up a written report on work for the Archive, on personal work, on plans for the next year, and to submit "any remarks you may wish to add on the methods of conducting research, lectures, library facilities and material, or any

other matters concerning the institute of Dumbarton Oaks." They also asked three of the Fellows to prepare papers for the Symposium being organized by A. M. Friend of Princeton to take place some six weeks later. Considered in the abstract the reports requested were not unreasonable, but these Senior Fellows were not appointed "in Charge of Research," their attitude toward the Junior Fellows had been standoffish, and they had made clear their lack of respect for their field.

As soon as they could the Fellows reported to Koehler. He could probably have stopped the whole controversy by speaking directly to Rand but he was very weak from his illness. On March 15th he wrote a polite, detailed, and judicious letter to Rand, starting "Dear Ken" and signed "Devotedly, Yours, Bill," explaining that he was still too weak to undertake a full conference with him and La Piana, pointing out that by specific agreement with Sachs "I am entrusted with the conduct of work on the Archives during the current year," and that it was wrong to expect Fellows to produce adequate papers on such short notice. On March 18th all five Junior Fellows signed a polite letter to Rand and La Piana saying that their request was "at variance with the previously established relationship between Senior and Junior Fellows, namely, one of older and younger colleagues and not of supervisors and students. They were ready to submit reports on their work on the Archives "to the Director of Research, should he desire them" but that it was "our understanding in coming to Dumbarton Oaks that our personal research was an individual, private matter, and as such not subject to supervision." They also said that it should be up to each Fellow individually to decide whether or not to submit criticisms or suggestions. By that time the issue of pressure to give papers on short notice was moot because that aspect of Friend's Symposium had been cancelled.

Considering the timing of the Rand-La Piana interviews it seems clear that they were a deliberate invasion of Koehler's authority and probably a fishing expedition to discredit the Archives project. It is hard to understand why they would take such a step, especially when they had no expert knowledge of the field. But La Piana wrote in outraged tone to Sachs on March 19th saying they "felt it to be their

right and their duty to keep themselves well informed on the work done by the Junior Fellows" and went on for four single-spaced pages to justify himself in every detail, noting that he had heard Junior Fellows remark that they were spending more than half of their time on the Archives, leaving little time for their own work. "On the basis of such a report, the question of how the work of the Junior Fellows should be regulated can be discussed by the Board on the basis of facts." He concluded by attacking Koehler for the episode of their disagreement in January and implying that he was stirring up the Junior Fellows against the Senior Fellows. Rand wrote a letter to Thacher dated March 18th, referring to La Piana's letter to Sachs, agreeing with him, saying they intended to require the reports "making it clear that we are proceeding with the authorization of Professor Sachs and Mr. Thacher," but hoping to avoid a major controversy. All these letters turned up in the Dumbarton Oaks archives in the form of carbon copies of transcripts (Koehler's was presumably written in longhand while resting before returning home), folded together and put in a letter-size envelope marked "Confidential." Rand and La Piana refer to a personal note from Rand to Koehler (which does not survive) saying that he was right that the Junior Fellows should not be asked to give Symposium papers on short notice. It is not clear whether there were other letters (e.g. from Rand to Sachs?) But Thacher in a long letter to Sachs on other matters (also March 18th) mentions that he had had long conversations with Rand and La Piana. It seems he did not speak to Koehler before he left.

The dossier reached Sachs in Cambridge just as he was about to leave for Chicago on March 23rd; he discussed the matter with Thacher by phone and wrote "George and Ken" asking that there be no more letters at all, to hold this "serious and delicate" matter in abeyance until he got to Washington on April 10th. He wrote essentially the same to the Junior Fellows as "Dear Junior Colleagues" and he wrote Koehler a shorter note addressed "Dear Wilhelm" (when colleagues who knew him well at this time addressed him as Bill), urging him to rest and recuperate and offering to discuss everything with him when he was back in

Cambridge between April 3rd and 9th. Whether Koehler did so is not recorded. It is strange that Sachs allowed Rand and La Piana to continue requiring reports since all the documents show that this was intended to be Koehler's responsibility.

Under the date of April 21st Koehler drew up a very detailed report on the Archives Project, explaining his system in general and reporting specifically on the work of the most recent Fellows. He explained his initial division of the Mediterranean world into seven regions, each being assigned to a Fellow with some appropriate background knowledge. With only four or five Fellows each year this had meant that in practice some regions had been largely neglected. He emphasized the importance both of continuity and of collaborative teamwork in the group. In the first year the Fellow "familiarized himself with the material of his region by recording groups of monuments for the files ... but [he] develops into a really useful member of the research group only in his second year, ... able to contribute effectively to the discussion meetings and to relate to his own material [the] contributions made by other Fellows." He also explained how having worked for the Archives in a region already familiar to him, a Fellow developed his own project as an extension of the collaborative work, including the insights emerging from group discussions. In fact only three Fellows had worked for two years: Kitzinger had been assigned the Balkans and produced his article on Stobi for the third *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* before going to OSS. Margaret Ames (later Mrs. Robert Alexander), a Ph.D. candidate who had studied at NYU with Richard Krautheimer and Karl Lehmann, was assigned North Africa, thus launching what turned out to be her whole research career. Josephine Harris (who had done her Ph.D. with George Mylonas in Classical Archaeology in St. Louis) did not in the end continue her work on Coptic sculpture despite Koehler's encouragement. Modestly, Koehler did not point out in his report the importance of his own leadership in establishing the high morale and the spirit of dedicated collaboration of the team through guiding their collective discussions, but Sachs, at least, had noted and praised this even in the first year of the program.

This report was submitted to a meeting of the Board of Scholars in Washington on April 28th, which Koehler did not attend, but Rand was there and La Piana reported on the Junior Fellows, specially favoring Anastos. On the basis of that meeting the Administrative Committee (Sachs, Bliss, Thacher, and Dean Baker) met two days later and agreed on a very different scheme for the work on the Archives, considering it a project "very similar to the Index of Christian Art in Princeton." Koehler was to have his choice of two or possibly three Junior Fellows who would devote as much as all their time to the Archives, he could have as much as a full-time secretary, and he would visit Dumbarton Oaks every four to six weeks to supervise them. Or if not Junior Fellows he could have one or two full-time research assistants to work on the Archives. And if Koehler did not wish to continue, the Committee would make other arrangements to carry on the Archives as an essential project.

The morning after he returned to Cambridge, on May 5th, Sachs asked Koehler to come to Shady Hill to confer with him, but instead of discussing the matter or showing him the report, he read aloud to Koehler the bulk of the Minutes of the Administrative Committee. This included much routine material about the appointment of Fellows, including Koehler's appointment to the Committee on Publications and Fellowships, La Piana's motion that Fellows working on the Fontes should not be asked to read anything outside their personal projects but submit to the Fontes anything they happened upon (thus killing the Fontes as an organized collaborative project), and the Committee's approach to Friend to become "Senior Resident Scholar" in charge of research, but Sachs did not read the item on the reappointment of Rand and La Piana as Senior Fellows. Then he read the long and involved description of the new scheme for the Archives as written out by Thacher. Sachs presumably considered it personable and hospitable to ask Koehler to come to Shady Hill, a considerable walk from the Fogg Museum, and he reported to the Administrative Committee three days later that he chose to read aloud the minutes "in order that there might not be any possible misunderstanding." But Koehler must have felt he was being treated as a schoolboy called before the Principal for some

terrible infraction of the rules. He listened in silence and at the end said "You can count me out completely. I shall not play ball." Sachs was flabbergasted and later reported that he tried to "discuss the whole matter with him then and there," and tried again the next day, but that Koehler merely repeated his statement.

It might be thought that Koehler acted precipitously, but he saw immediately that the new system made impossible what he really wanted, to promote collaborative advanced research in a team of young people who were entering his field, the sort of post-doctoral work that is routine in the natural sciences (as he had pointed out in his 1943 article in *Speculum*). He did not consider the physical existence of the Archives as a major goal in itself, comparable to the Index of Christian Art in Princeton, but rather as a preparatory tool for future field work and a byproduct of the educational experience gained by the Fellows through the combination of collective and individual projects. He also saw that Sachs's scheme would create two classes of Junior Fellows, one with no obligations, the other required to spend at least half their time on the Archives; that was a recipe for ill will among the fellows. It was obvious that Sachs and his group did not understand Koehler's purpose; none of them had had any comparable research experience. Research assistance, no matter how good, was not what Koehler wanted. He had also found that especially at the beginning of a year his intermittent visits to Washington were not enough to establish the team morale he had achieved in his first two years and he had observed that the collaborative project of the Fontes had flourished only during its second year when Blake was at Dumbarton Oaks working with his two former pupils Alexander and Anastos.

The day after this meeting he wrote a letter from his home in Belmont, in longhand, to Dean Buck beginning "Yesterday I had to make one of the hardest decisions in my life." He mentioned that he had discussed matters with Buck a few days earlier and he sent a copy of his Report on the Archives as explanation, concluding that it would be "immoral in my opinion" if he were to continue to supervise the Archives under these impossible circumstances, when he considered that it was "doomed to failure." The way he stated

this, relying on his reference to his long report, without giving a direct explanation in his letter, was not well designed to convince an administrator. Koehler expected to continue on the Board of Scholars, as mentioned in the minutes read to him, but Sachs ruled otherwise and the correspondence between Sachs and Thacher, referring snidely to "our friend," shows they were glad to be rid of him, considering him a disruption in their efforts to have a smoothly functioning gentlemanly institution that would please Mrs. Bliss. When he took over at Dumbarton Oaks the next year Albert Mathias Friend, Jr. (1894-56) continued to live and teach in Princeton, coming to Washington a couple of days a week. He canceled all collaborative projects except that he manipulated some of the Fellows to do research for some of his own ideas. Koehler never again had anything to do with Dumbarton Oaks, and never joined any other collaborative project, but withdrew more than ever to Belmont, to his own teaching and research. After his initial hopes and his manifest successes in his first two years, it was a bitter disappointment for him, comparable to his failure to get the chair at Vienna and his being forced by Nazi pressure to abandon the Museum in Weimar.

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At this time Koehler had another concern: his older son, Lorenz (born 1924), very much his favorite, had reached military age and entered the service in May 1943. He was a bright and idealistic youth who after Exeter completed a year at Harvard before volunteering for the celebrated Tenth Mountain Division, for like his father he loved the mountains. He trained in Colorado and eventually was sent to Italy, reaching the front line in the Apennines south of Bologna in February 1945. The front had stabilized in November where the advance after the capture of Florence had been stopped by stubborn German resistance; the division was in very rugged terrain and miserable winter conditions. On February 19, 1945, his company was assigned to lead a nighttime assault up Mount Belvedere, more than a thousand meters high, the most prominent feature in a chain of snow-topped mountains that formed the natural frontier of fully dug in German defenses; it had

withstood previous American assaults. They were to crawl up the mountain with bayonets fixed, carrying grenades and with bullets in reserve but none in their guns; in the dark they would know that anyone firing a gun was a German. Lorenz and another German refugee were assigned to head the two columns, to pretend to be lost German soldiers if they encountered any entrenched enemy. The assault was successful and Lorenz was awarded the Bronze Star. He was greatly admired by his fellow soldiers, was promoted to Private First Class, and the slogan he carved on his gun stock "Sempre Avanti" became the Regimental motto.

There was a further advance, and then on March 24th he volunteered for a nighttime patrol that was to feel out the Germans in a set of three houses on the other side of the road below Monte Della Spe, where they were dug in. The Patrol was led by Lt. William Lowell Putnam, Lorenz's classmate (though they had not known each other) and a relative of President Lowell of Harvard; he had been wounded in an earlier encounter, during which he complained that his commander was not attacking vigorously enough. Now he had returned from hospital and this was his first chance to lead a patrol himself. He was notoriously a daredevil. He established some of his men back from the road and then he and Lorenz, followed by others, crawled forward on a small road leading to the houses. They came under heavy fire and Lorenz and another man were hit. Putnam withdrew, abandoning them, contrary to standing orders in the army. In their further withdrawal several more were shot by a new replacement in the rear who thought they were Germans. The next night Putnam was required to lead another patrol to attempt to recover the bodies. But on the day after the first patrol a tall slender body was seen hanging from one of the buildings and it was thought to be Lorenz. He was certainly alive when he was abandoned, and another American soldier wounded in this incident was captured and survived in captivity; it is possible that Lorenz

died of his wound but it is also possible that he was hanged when his captors realized he was originally German.[7]

Koehler received the telegram that Lorenz was "Missing in Action" on April 10th and he got a letter from a commanding officer explaining the situation, holding out little hope. On April 14th a major American assault freed this area and moved rapidly north; in three weeks the war was over. The Italian Red Cross buried a dozen bodies near the houses that had been probed and on May 8th (a week after German forces in Italy had surrendered) they were excavated and identified by the American army; finally on June 8th Lorenz was officially declared killed in action and Koehler was notified. It had been an agonizingly long wait. He probably never knew the story about the hanging but when the body was found there was no head. For Koehler it was a devastating loss; for an outside observer it remains a horrible irony to have happened to a principled exile from Nazi Germany, a lover of Italy, and a lover of mountains, indeed to a German gentleman of the old school who was never fully at home in America.

With the war over, Harvard returned to its normal teaching schedule and in the spring of 1946 Koehler offered a new graduate lecture course: "Comparative Study of Fifteenth Century Painting in Italy and Flanders." That fall his seminar was on Romanesque illustrated Bibles and in the spring of 1947 he held a joint seminar with Ernst Kitzinger on Anglo-Saxon Art in the Early Middle Ages. The year 1947-8 was particularly fruitful for Koehler because his friend Erwin Panofsky (1892-1968) was the Charles Eliot Norton Professor that year, giving the public lectures that he developed into his *Early Netherlandish Painting* (published by Harvard in two

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[7] The incident is told in William L. Putnam, *Green Cognac, the Education of a Mountain Fighter* (New York, 1991), pp. 107-10. The book is self-serving and the dialogue sounds written for television; while the basic facts can be confirmed from other written accounts, Putnam's judgment and responsibility in leading this patrol are viewed negatively by other men in this company with whom I have spoken. When I asked Putnam about it by telephone in 1998 his attitude was defensive and evasive; it is clear that the incident weighs heavily on his mind.

volumes in 1953) and also giving graduate seminars: "Problems in Iconography with Special Reference to Northern Painting and Illumination of the14th and 15th Centuries" in the fall, and "Literary Sources Referring to the History of Medieval and Renaissance Art" in the spring. At the same time Koehler's seminars were "Stylistic Problems in Medieval Art" in the fall and "Interiors in Medieval Art" in the spring (in addition to his lecture courses, Great Artists in the fall and Michelangelo in the spring). One might look at the schedule and suppose that lines were drawn as if for combat, but they were friends and Panofsky, eight years younger, had the highest respect for Koehler because he realized that Koehler knew the written sources nearly as well as he did and he recognized that Koehler had a unique sensitivity to style and its expressive effect.

They discussed this material together frequently, reaching generally similar conclusions, and two years later Koehler devoted his seminar to Jan van Eyck, emphasizing the development of his style. Then in the spring of 1951 his seminar was on Rogier van der Weyden, starting with the effect on his style of his pilgrimage to Rome in 1450, a theme central to his specialized lecture course five years earlier. He never published anything on this material, but I took that seminar and heard Koehler explain his interpretation of Rogier's stylistic development. During this time I happened to be introduced to Panofsky at a social occasion away from Cambridge and he asked anxiously what Koehler thought of his latest article on Rogier, a small point based on the identification of portraits in two paintings of religious scenes. Koehler did not mention it in class because the result simply confirmed the agreed chronology of the Seven Sacraments altarpiece. Then when Panofsky's book came out two years later I was struck particularly by the influence of Koehler's interpretation of Rogier's stylistic development, from the dramatic design of figures in cramped shallow space in the early Entombment, through the deep spatial compositions influenced by his experience of Italian painting, to the return to what Koehler called kinetic figure compositions in the foreground set against a restricted depth. It was a return to a more medieval expression, one that proved very influential for the next generation of northern art.

Panofsky saw this but for all his eloquence in treating specific features of the paintings he did not achieve Koehler's synthesis in the critical and historical interpretation of style.

In 1950 his friend Meyer Schapiro arranged for Abrams to offer Koehler his choice of writing a monograph on any painter, to be illustrated entirely in color. He thought of doing Paul Klee, and soon gave a few public lectures as a sort of tryout, but in a sense he kept them private and did not give one in Cambridge. Then one day he came into his graduate lecture course on early medieval art and said "I have two boxes of slides, one is S. Maria Maggiore, the other is Paul Klee. Which do you choose?" We took Klee. Koehler sat down in the front row of the Small Lecture Hall at the Fogg and called for the first slide, which was a photograph of Klee's face, taken by Albers, with the light from below. There was a long silence and a student seated over at the side reported that there were tears streaming down his face. Finally he stood up and spoke personally about Klee, his way of working, his music. Then he began to discuss some new color slides, a great rarity at that time. He spoke of Klee's approach to nature in the Landscape with Yellow Birds, saying the beholder must not compare nature directly but open himself to Klee's interpretation. He analyzed the expressive use of color in Snow is Coming, and he told the story behind Feuerwind (which is not otherwise recorded). There were several exhibitions of Klee in New York in this time and growing interest in him; Koehler's surviving notes (in Munich) include many brief sketches for his analysis of individual paintings, but speaking about Klee proved too severe an emotional strain and he never published anything on him. He turned instead to Rembrandt for the book with color plates, but he was so disappointed by the color reproductions used in the preliminary pamphlet version of it that he withdrew from the project entirely.

In 1949 the Department of Fine Arts reorganized its introductory course as a full year collaborative program in which Koehler gave only the first quarter. But after three years of this, for his last year of teaching, Koehler insisted on devoting his entire time to giving the whole course himself; he would not even give me a Reading Course.

But I was a Section Man and he appointed me his special assistant with responsibility for organizing the photographs for the students to study following the lectures and for assignments; this was very important because Koehler refused to use any of the textbooks then available (before Janson) and the only reading was Wölfflin's *Classic Art* when we came to the Italian Renaissance. Koehler met every week with the five Section Men to plan the discussions, which were not for review but to explore in depth the stylistic subtleties in the material of the lectures. We were to use only a very few slides and to proceed exclusively by Socratic method, avoiding all easy generalizations. One of the most successful sections we had was devoted entirely to an oval Picasso still life, *Violin*, of 1911-2; we started by asking what was depicted, and when the students realized it was a violin we brought out a violin that we had hidden in the room and proceeded to find every detail of it and of the music in the painting, and to find how they were related on the surface of the painting and in space. Working closely with Koehler to devise these classes and to follow his instructions in teaching was the most valuable aspect of my graduate study, save only actually completing a dissertation. This experience, which I gained at the end of his career, at the beginning of mine, had been shared by many Fogg students since 1935 and had a profound effect on American college teaching of the history of art.

In 1946 Koehler had written his friend Richard Krautheimer that he was returning to his work on the Carolingian manuscripts, but progress was very slow. He waited until 1952 to go abroad for further research and he was such a perfectionist in his codicological work that he devoted his time mostly to studying textual affiliations among Franco-Saxon manuscripts. He was so diffident that he pursued this work in the Salle des Manuscrits in Paris without speaking to any authority. At that point I came to the Biliothèque Nationale for the first time and called on Jean Porcher, Conservateur en Chef, to ask permission to study manuscripts in the grande réserve; he was generous as always. He knew Koehler was studying there, as I did not, and asked me specially to tell him that he would be very pleased to meet him.

Koehler had given his seminar that year on the Ada group (when unfortunately I was in Europe) and he wrote an article for the Georg Swarzenski Festschrift on an earlier discovery, an intriguing fragment with an illustration from a Gospel lectionary of the Ada group pasted into a Cottonian manuscript in the British Museum, but he did not finish it in time and published it in the Warburg *Journal* instead. He also wrote an article for the Belle Da Costa Greene Festschrift reconstructing fragments of a sumptuous Bavarian Gospel Book from the end of the eighth century divided between the Morgan Library and Nürnberg, discussing primarily its textual affiliations. But it was only the obligation of Festschriften that persuaded him to write articles, and his article for the Kingsley Porter Festschrift (which he had edited in 1939) on a fragment of a Carolingian copy of a Late Antique illustrated annals, had been done jointly with Bernhard Bischoff, then a rising young Privatdozent in Munich.

Finally, in 1958, appeared the second volume of *Die Karolingische Miniaturen*, with a title that correctly rebaptized the "Ada Group" as Die Hofschule Karls des Großen, but it appeared in a self-effacing format that disappointed all his admirers.[8] He had realized, as all admitted, that it was impossible in one lifetime of an actively teaching professor to publish the whole range of Carolingian miniatures on the same scale as he had for the School of Tours and he realized it was his obligation to make the material available with full illustration and objective detailed descriptions. In his ten pages of introduction he laid out the documentary evidence for assigning these manuscripts to the Court of Charlemagne (as some had previously suggested) and he explained the evidence of the Gospel text and accessory texts that establishes the sequence of these books, but he wrote nothing about this most sumptuous of all decoration in the Carolingian era, or about the sources and development of the splendid Evangelist portraits in this sequence.

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[8] See particularly the review by Carl Nordenfalk in *Kunstchronik* 12 (1959), 305-8, 313-4, also the review by Meyer Schapiro in *Art Bulletin* 42 (1960), 301-2.

Shortly before he died while visiting Munich, in November 1959, he had the galley proofs of the third volume, which treated the famous group beginning with the Coronation Gospels in the Vienna Schatzkammer and also (for convenience in the size of this publication) the manuscripts associated with Metz. For the Schatzkammer group he allowed himself more commentary, characterizing their unique style, explaining their relation to the Court School, and offering a brief historical reconstruction of the arrival of foreign artists at the court of Charlemagne to produce these books. He also commented briefly on the disparate Metz manuscripts and on the relation of the unique astronomical illustrations in Madrid (Cod. 3307) to the Schatzkammer group.[9] Florentine Mütherich in Munich had helped in the production of both these volumes, and was indirectly a pupil of Koehler, for she was a pupil of Hermann Schnitzler in Bonn and he had spent a year on an exchange fellowship at the Fogg in the mid 1930s and assigned her *Die Schule von Tours* for intensive study as the basis of training in manuscript studies. So it was appropriate that she was designated to continue the series on the basis of Koehler's notes.

In 1951, with the support of the Bollingen Foundation, Koehler undertook to write a comprehensive survey of manuscript illumination, which he soon decided to limit to the Early Middle Ages, and which would partly serve as commentary on the volumes of his Carolingian corpus in their new reduced format. After retirement, in June 1953, he spent much of his time working on this project, studying the manuscripts, reviewing the literature, and writing short sketches to define his ideas on key issues, but with his caution and perfectionism, and hampered by declining health, he did not live to write any substantial section of the book. He left such a large organized file of these sketches that a decade after his death Kitzinger and Mütherich spent innumerable hours transcribing them, and added a few notes, to publish them as a substantial book,

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[9] See the review by Ernst Kitzinger in *Art Bulletin* 44 (1962), 61-5, both for its substance and for his appreciation of Koehler's approach; Carl Nordenfalk's review in *Kunstchronik* 14 (1961), 243-8, 253, is also important.

Buchmalerei des frühen Mittelalters, Fragmente und Entwürfe aus dem Nachlaß (Munich, 1972). Here in 183 pages one can watch Koehler's mind at work, with all its intensive observation, systematic review, and patient search for interpretation, at first cautious but ultimately bold. It is specially revealing to turn to the back of the book to find where and when each sketch was written, some on the spot or in the train afterwards, but some in the mountains of New Hampshire or at the seashore, for these concerned problems that he had kept in his mind, often for many years, and sought to define through prolonged contemplation in peaceful surroundings. Patient reading of this book is the best memorial to the scholarship of Wilhelm Koehler.

David H. Wright
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KRAUTHEIMER, RICHARD (1897-1994)

DALE KINNEY

Richard Krautheimer at the Institute of Fine Arts

Richard Krautheimer was not really a Byzantinist, for all the weight of his contribution to that discipline; he was an architectural historian who taught and wrote about Byzantine architecture, as well as about early Christian, Carolingian, Renaissance, and Baroque. *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* is just one of his twelve or so books, depending on how you count them, and very nearly his only publication on a strictly Byzantine topic.[1] *ECBA* (known to colleagues and students as "the Pelican") has been called "the single most comprehensive, reliable, and amply documented handbook of early Christian and Byzantine architecture, secular and ecclesiastical, covering the Latin West, the eastern Mediterranean, Armenia, Georgia, and Russia ... a staggering achievement in scholarship."[2] It is not my goal to elaborate on this judgement, nor to offer an historiographic account of the book's antecedents and impact; others

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[1] See the bibliography in *Rome. Tradition, Innovation and Renewal. A Canadian Art History Conference 8-13 June 1987 Rome in honour of Richard Krautheimer ... and Leonard Boyle O.P....* (University of Victoria, 1991), 127-136. I am counting his dissertation, *Habilitationsschrift*, and the five separate volumes of the *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae*, but not his collected essays (1969), nor the three revisions of the Pelican, nor the multiple translations of *Rome. Profile of a City* (1980). Except for book reviews, Krautheimer's few other strictly Byzantine publications were mostly spin-offs from the Pelican, e.g., "Zu Konstantins Apostelkirche in Konstantinopel," in *Mullus. Festschrift Theodor Klauser* (1964); "A Note on Justinian's Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople," in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, II,1 (1964); and "Die Decanneacubita in Konstantinopel. Ein kleiner Beitrag zur Frage Rom und Byzanz," in *Tortulae* (1966). See W. Eugene Kleinbauer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture; an annotated bibliography and historiography* (Boston, 1992), Nos. 1528/1627, 1529, 2546.

[2] Kleinbauer, *ibid.*, 78.

are considerably better qualified than I to do that.[3] Rather I am taking another option offered by John Barker, to write of Richard Krautheimer as a teacher.

I will define "Byzantine" as Krautheimer did, as beginning with the reign of Justinian. What came before is early Christian (or late antique), a realm that Krautheimer controlled for fifty years. His contributions to the study of early Christian architecture have been definitive for several generations, but for the purposes of this paper, they belong to another field, contiguous with Byzantine but distinctive.[4] "Byzantine" begins with Justinian and ends in 1453.

If one wanted to study this architecture in the U.S. in the 1950s and 1960s, almost the only place to do it was the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University, where Krautheimer had been teaching part-time - one course a year - since 1939 and full-time since 1952. There were Byzantinists in other art history departments - notably at Harvard and at Princeton - but generally speaking specialists in the figurative arts did not "do" architecture. Krautheimer's full-time appointment at the Institute coincided almost exactly with the invitation from Nicholas Pevsner, in 1953, to write the Pelican volume. By his own account, he commenced work on this volume by traveling to Greece and Turkey in 1954; he revisited Greece and Istanbul in the following years, and also went to Israel, Tunisia, and Spain.[5] The intense mental work of correlating raw observations

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[3] See Kleinbauer, *ibid.*, cix-cxii; Cecil L. Striker, "Richard Krautheimer and the Study of Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture," in *In Memoriam Richard Krautheimer. Relazioni della giornata di studi, Roma, 20 febbraio 1995, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Sala dell'Ercole* (Rome, 1997), 27-40. I am indebted to Dr. Julian Kliemann for kindly sending me a copy of the latter publication.

[4] On some of Krautheimer's early Christian contributions see my papers "The Church Basilica," forthcoming in *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam pertinentia, series altera*; and "Krautheimer's Constantine," forthcoming in *Ecclesiae urbis. Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Studi sulle Chiese di Roma (IV-X secolo).*

[5] Richard Krautheimer, "And Gladly Did he Learn and Gladly Teach," in *Rome. Tradition, Innovation* (as in n. 1), 117-118.

with bibliographic research and structuring the results must have been done chiefly in the late 1950s and early '60s, and this is when most of the future Byzantinists among his dissertation students began their training: Lee Striker, Tom Mathews, Jim Morganstern; only Slobodan Ćurčić came later.[6] Gene Kleinbauer, though a student at Princeton, was another one inspired by Krautheimer during these years.[7] The Pelican volume went to press in late 1963. By the time I arrived at the Institute in 1965, what would be the first of four editions had already been published.

The Institute of Fine Arts, located since the 1930s in the Fifth Avenue mansion of Paul Warburg, moved in 1958 to another mansion very near the Metropolitan Museum, the James B. Duke house.[8] Designed by Horace Trumbauer for the "tobacco tycoon" around 1910, the Duke house is "an abstracted, overscaled version" of the eighteenth-century Château Labottier in Bordeaux.[9] It is a

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[6] Cecil L. Striker, dissertation 1968 (*The Myrelaion (Bodrum Camii) in Istanbul* [Princeton, 1981]); Thomas Mathews, dissertation 1970 (*The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy* [University Park, PA and London], 1971); James Morganstern, dissertation 1973 (*The Byzantine Church at Dereagzi and its Decoration* [Tübingen, 1983]); Slobodan Ćurčić, dissertation 1975 (*Gračanica. King Milutin's Church and its Place in Late Byzantine Architecture* [University Park and London, 1979]). I am not counting other future Byzantinists who took courses with Krautheimer but wrote dissertations under Hugo Buchthal or later, Tom Mathews. James Morganstern's interest subsequently went west, and presently he is conducting a major study of the eleventh-century church at Jumièges.

[7] Walter Eugene Kleinbauer, "The Aisled Tetraconch," Dissertation, Princeton University, 1967.

[8] On the move see Craig Hugh Smyth, "Richard Krautheimer: The Institute of Fine Arts years," in *Rome. Tradition, Innovation* (as in n. 1), 78; Annabel Wharton, "Gender, Architecture, and Institutional Self-Presentation: The Case of Duke University," *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 90 (1991), 184 and 211, n. 13.

[9] Robert A.M. Stern, Gregory Gilmartin and John Montague Massengale, *New York 1900. Metropolitan Architecture and Urbanism 1890-1915* (New York,

cold and haughty building, dominated by a cavernous marble vestibule overlooked by a sweeping grand stair. Lectures were given in a mirrored ballroom off the vestibule, seminars in a room adjoining it. The library was on the second floor, where the books were distributed by subject in studies installed in the majestic bedrooms. Faculty offices were mostly in the old servants' quarters on the third floor, while the Conservation Center and the slide room were in the basement. The only place a student could relax was in the relatively tiny first-floor kitchen tucked away below the grand stair. Every year a group of the especially hard-pressed, finishing their dissertations or studying for exams, ate both lunch and dinner there, in a nook under a tarnished replica of Guido Reni's *Aurora*.[10] Lifelong friendships formed in that confined space.

In this setting of faux-European grandeur the largely echt-European faculty seemed at home, though some of them probably thought it rather silly. In 1965 the faculty were of three categories: the ancient, the old, and the young. The ancient were the likes of Walter Friedlaender, aged 92. They and the old were mostly German emigrés, forced out in the 1930s and snatched up by the Institute's then-director, Walter Cook.[11] The young were their American students, with a few outsiders trained at Yale or Princeton. The ancient and the young were impressive enough, but the old gave the place its overwhelming aura. Famous, accomplished, un-fathomably knowledgeable, powerful far beyond the scene in New York, many of these men -- they were all men -- were still in, or in barely perceptible descent from, their prime. They included Erwin

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1983), 339; the epithet "tobacco tycoon" is from John K. Winkler, *Tobacco Tycoon: the Story of James Buchanan Duke* (New York, 1942).

[10] Much remains today as I describe it, although the Conservation Center has moved across the street, and the expansion of the library has caused an invasion of stacks into all parts of the house, domesticating the once formidable foyer.

[11] For this story see Colin Eisler, "*Kunstgeschichte* American Style: A Study in Migration," in *The Intellectual Migration. Europe and America, 1930-1960*, ed. Donald Fleming and Bernard Bailyn (Cambridge, MA, 1969), 569-575.

Panofsky, Peter von Blanckenhagen, Bernard Bothmer, Richard Ettinghausen, Peter Janson, Hugo Buchthal, and Richard Krautheimer, then in his sixty-ninth year. These eminences stalked, strode, or shuffled across the glistening foyer, often on their way to the unmarked, beautifully panelled elevator waiting discreetly at the foot of the grand stair (Krautheimer, however, climbed the steps). The atmosphere crackled with palpable emanations of greatness.

In this galaxy of strong personalities, Richard Krautheimer was a major constellation. The building filled with his presence, not least because of his well-known habit of loud soliloquy.[12] He talked to the card catalogue, to the books in the stacks, to himself, and, if you chanced to intersect his trajectory, to you. He occupied what must have been a prime office in the northeast corner of the second floor (Fig. 1).[13] It was accessible via the Architecture study, which was, therefore, his anteroom. On his way through he would stop to notice what the students working there were reading, commenting *ad alta voce* on their choice of authorities or the pace of their work. If he addressed you directly the effect was daunting. He spoke emphatically and right at you. "Hmmm?" He expected a response. It did not have to be agreement - on the contrary, it was clear that he enjoyed a show of spirit - but it had to be cogent, or at least amusing. He did not seem very patient.

I did not meet him until the spring of 1967, when he offered concurrent courses on Byzantine architecture, a lecture course and a seminar. I signed up for both. Admission to seminars was by permission only, so a research assistant was dispatched to interview

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[12] James Ackerman, "Richard Krautheimer: An Homage," in *Rome, Tradition, Innovation* (as in n. 1), 85; Christoph Liutpold Frommel, "Richard Krautheimer alla Bibliotheca Hertziana," in *In Memoriam* (as in n. 3), 127. The tale of Krautheimer singing in the library, located by Ackerman at Vassar, is also told of the Biblioteca Vaticana.

[13] The photograph of Krautheimer in his office is from the archives of the Institute of Fine Arts. Thanks to Allen Ellenzweig for helping me to find it, and to James McCredie for permission to publish it.

me; this is how I met the now very eminent Patricia Waddy. Her questions revealed that I was not very well qualified: no prior study of architecture, no study of Byzantine history; however, having taken a six-week summer course at Hunter College, I claimed to read Greek. Dubiously, I'm sure, I was allowed to slip in. My first memory of Richard is from that seminar, poring over Procopius' description of Hagia Sophia.

Both courses met once a week for thirteen weeks. In the first session of the lecture course Krautheimer summarized Byzantine historiography from Petrus Gyllius through Ostrogorsky; history, commencing with the question, when does Byzantine history start?; and art history, including a list of periodicals to "keep an eye on": *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, *Byzantion*, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, *Archaiologikon Deltion*, the *Praktika tes Archaiologikes Hetairias*. Janin, van Millingen, Diehl, Ebersolt, Schneider, Millet, Strzygowski, Dalton, Bréhier, Wulff, Ward Perkins, MacDonald, and Kitzinger all were mentioned. One book was "not recommended": Michelis' *An Aesthetic Approach to Byzantine Art*, apparently because of an excessive preoccupation with "mystical symbolical qualities."[14]

The following four weeks treated Justinianic architecture, including an entire session on the Hagia Sophia. In weeks six and seven we transitioned into cross-domed churches, then in week eight into the "borderlands" of Armenia and Bulgaria. In week nine we arrived at Middle Byzantine, which continued for three more weeks. Late Byzantine merited a single, closing lecture; its architecture was "nothing great" and "less than exciting"; most of the creative energy came from Thessaloniki, and the "capital [became] a province of the provinces."

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[14] P.A. Michelis, *An Aesthetic Approach to Byzantine Art* (London, 1955). The author's "aesthetic approach" is subjective and unhistorical, qualities Krautheimer did not admit to scholarship. F.W. Deichmann panned the book as well, though he commended the author's "love [of the monuments] and enthusiasm"; *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 53 (1960) 146-149.

The structure of the course mirrored that of the second half of the Pelican, with an even more exaggerated tilt toward the first three centuries: roughly 61% of the course devoted to Justinianic architecture and its progeny and 31% to Middle Byzantine, versus 56%-33% in the book. Late Byzantine was all but ignored in both: 8% of the course, 11% of the book. Krautheimer had little sympathy for Palaeologan architecture, which he described as derivative, fussy, "nervous," over-decorated, precious. He especially disliked Mistra, a "Byzantine Williamsburg" with "second- or third-rate" buildings appealing only on account of their landscape setting. In his memoir he describes the disappointment of seeing it on a trip with his wife Trude, and Millard and Miggy Meiss: "a Greek Williamsburg, touristy and second-rate, and we nearly came to blows because I had insisted on the visit."[15] I think he was suspicious of the buildings' small scale. Small size bespoke small ambition. As he expressed it in the Pelican: "never is Late Byzantine architecture monumental ... and never is it great."[16] Krautheimer appreciated greatness.

The content of the lectures also closely resembled the Pelican, although the argument is clearer in the book. It is the book's colossal achievement to order hundreds or thousands of individual buildings on an integrated armature of chronology, typology, and geography, and to translate that multi-dimensional order into perfectly linear prose. The clarity of the armature was facilitated in the original edition by the relative paucity of illustrations; with some exceptions, there were at most three illustrations per building, often fewer and sometimes none. One could attend to the words. In the classroom the situation was different: in two hours, we could be shown well over a hundred slides, and the form and character of each building

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[15] Krautheimer, "And Gladly Did he Learn" (as in n. 5), 117.

[16] Richard Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (Baltimore, 1965), 294. Cf. H. Hallensleben's tart objection to his "stiefmütterliche" treatment of this architecture: *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 66 (1973), 128. Krautheimer ultimately compensated for his bias by taking on S. Ćurčić as collaborator on the Pelican's fourth and final revision, published in 1986.

could be brought out. We were expected to look and to recognize each building if and when it appeared again. Like most lecture courses at the Institute, "Byzantine Architecture" aimed to provide us with a comprehensive visual repertoire of the objects embraced by the field. The importance of this aspect is evidenced by Krautheimer's final exam, which was dominated by tests of visual recall: drawing plans and longitudinal sections of four buildings; identifying slides of five buildings; dating five unidentified capitals by style. The demand to sketch plans and sections came as a total surprise, and many of us did poorly on that portion. "You draw like a child" was the unrelenting comment on one friend's exam.

There were other distractions from the taut economy of the armature, including value judgements and amusing asides. Krautheimer was given to quoting aphorisms attributed to Walter Friedlaender, many of which were not originally Friedlaender's at all; I later encountered one of them while reading Pliny. I think it was "no book is so bad you can't learn something from it," which I have repeated to my own students as, of course, coming from Krautheimer. Occasionally he offered dismissive assessments of buildings we might otherwise have thought all right; Sts. Sergius and Bacchus, for example, "doesn't click"; its plan is "askew" and there is a disappointing contrast between the "incredibly beautiful" carved ornament and the defective design. The design of the church at Daphni is marked by extreme simplification, "not to say poverty." At Nerezi a Constantinopolitan groundplan was "transformed in the most horrible way."

Rarely there was a methodological exposition, notably the review of opinions on the origin of Hagia Sophia and its cognates in week four. Strzygowski, Rivoira, Andreades, Sedlmayr, Weigand, Grabar, Ward-Perkins; all had different theories because all looked to different aspects of the buildings as explanatory. Krautheimer's solution was that all of these opinions could be partially correct, because structure, design, and function need not all be traced to the same origin or source. He expressed special appreciation for Grabar's innovation of looking for the functional associations of

certain tyes of groundplans; this enabled his own postulation of a "palace-church type" represented by the double-shell design in tetraconchs, the Antioch Octagon, San Vitale, and Hagia Sophia.[17]

It was a shock to me to read that in the late 1950s Krautheimer refused to meet a student of Sedlmayr because of his moral and political repugnance for the teacher.[18] Ten years later biography, including autobiography, was never a factor in his classroom; then, at least, he believed in the possibility of scholarly detachment. Implicitly, never explicitly, we were taught that historical inquiry should and could be disinterested, driven by empirical study rather than by ideological conviction. Sedlmayr's observations, if verifiable, were no less useful than Grabar's. I think that this attitude explains, in part, Krautheimer's own untroubled forty-year collaboration with the archaeologists of the Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, obviously driven by ideological motives unlike his own, with whom he felt he shared an ability to bracket such biases in the pursuit of archaeological truth. By the time I was finishing my dissertation, postmodernism had appeared to denigrate objectivity (as well as truth) as an impossible goal, symptomatic of willful or naive ignorance of the historical and political imbeddedness of all conceptual formulations. Krautheimer had no truck with such philosophizing. He was quite aware of situational determinants; witness the musing at the end of the Pelican volume on why the precious surface and spatial effects of Palaeologan buildings, so admired by nineteenth-century scholars, failed to convince him ("obviously these qualities have less meaning to a generation which grew up with Le Corbusier and the Bauhaus"). He acknowledged

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[17] The idea that the Antioch Octagon should be classed with sixth-century examples of the "palace-church" type was first published by a student at the Institute, working under Krautheimer's aegis in the early 1960s; Kleinbauer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (as in n. 1), No. 1000/2065. Deichmann and Cyril Mango both hotly opposed the concept; Kleinbauer, Nos. 2064, 2067.

[18] Frommel, "Richard Krautheimer" (as in n. 12), 120-121; cf. Krautheimer, "And Gladly Did he Learn" (as in n. 5), 111.

that historical truth could never be recaptured ("... possibly because of the visual habits thus engendered, we now underrate the quality of Late Byzantine architectural design").[19] But to his mind, the fact that a goal seemed impossible was no reason not to attempt it. I think we absorbed the moral lesson that as historians, it is better to try to transcend our situatedness than to dwell in it.

Transcendence was not, as the word may now imply, a matter of transhistorical levitation. It was constructed, a mental bridge between what is directly accessible by experience and observation and what can only be proposed by interpretation and imagination. His distinctive approach can be illustrated by comparing the description of Hagia Sophia written for the Pelican - very like the one we heard in class - with those found in earlier publications by Kenneth John Conant and William MacDonald, of 1942 and 1962 respectively. All three present essentially the same understanding of the building, as a brilliantly simple design in which a virtually independent structural core is surrounded by subsidiary spaces to create mysteriously complex effects. But Conant's structural description is hard to follow, partly because it is not keyed to any particular illustrations; and his spatial analysis is a celebration of the catenary curve:

> In both the original and the later construction [i.e., before and after 558, when the first dome collapsed] approximate catenary curves were used, due to oriental influence received through Syria, and doubtless to the fact that Anthemius was a theoretician aware that the catenary is the perfect form of arch, the only one free of internal stress in the arch ring, and consequently capable of greater strength with less material ... The catenary appears in the underground Mystery Temple outside the Porta Maggiore at Rome ... but remains very unusual in Roman work owing to the prestige of Greek

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[19] Krautheimer, *Early Christian & Byzantine Architecture* (as in n. 16), 293.

> forms. Periods of breakdown or contamination of classicism give it its opportunity.[20]

MacDonald's spatial description is ekphrastic:

> The interior achieves an unequalled effect of majestic weightlessness and profound harmony through a paradoxical, even contradictory apposition of architectural phrasing ... The observer standing on the marble pavement of the nave is under the immediate influence of the horizontal plane of the longitudinal axis: a hundred and eighty-five feet above him soars the canopy of the dome. Between these two areas is a transitional space which belongs to both. The satellite half-domes of the middle level are axially connected, while their spreading surfaces and the adjacent pendentives are harmonic to the central vault above. The floated in-between world which these shapes suggest more than form is the key to the inseparable simultaneous operation of both axes.[21]

Krautheimer was not trained as an architect, as was Conant; he approached buildings as an archaeologist and an historian. His long account of Hagia Sophia begins with history, including structural history, proceeds to the "bold but simple" geometry and physics of the system, and climaxes in a description of the interior effects couched, like MacDonald's, in terms of an imagined observer:

> ... Within the inner shell, both the spatial volumes and their sequence are all intelligible. But beyond this core, space remains enigmatic to the beholder who is restricted to the nave. The form and interplay of spatial shapes is first established, then denied... The piers are massive enough if seen from the aisles; but they are not meant to be seen. Their bulk is denied by their marble sheathing...

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[20] Kenneth John Conant, *A Brief Commentary on Early Mediaeval Church Architecture, With Especial Reference to Lost Monuments* (Baltimore, 1942), 14-15.

[21] William L. MacDonald, *Early Christian & Byzantine Architecture* (New York, 1962), 35-36.

> ... Seen from the aisles and galleries, the nave remained always half-hidden behind screens of columns ... Curtains hanging between the columns provided a further screen. Hence the nave, from the aisles and galleries, presents itself only in fragments. Parts of the main dome, parts of the half-dome, parts of the concave conchs or straight arcades, parts of piers are seen by the beholder, who is never allowed to understand the whole design of the nave, or indeed, of the building. In short, the beholder relegated to aisles and galleries sees the nave, but is denied its intelligibility.[22]

Krautheimer's description, with its guiding principle of "statement and denial," is based on Procopius, that is, as an historian would naturally do it, on a primary source. But the source has been doubly translated, linguistically and rhetorically: into English, and out of Procopius' elliptical and florid style. Krautheimer's own style in English was artfully transparent. He wrote what seems to be plain English, "plain" in the sense that applies to prose like that of the brilliant American anthropologist Clifford Geertz: meticulously crafted but jargon-free, unlabored, giving the impression of orality and spontaneity without the awkwardness or banality of real speech.[23] Krautheimer would not have written, as MacDonald did, "an energizing heliophany plays through the coronas of windows, adding a final visual and spiritual dimension"; "heliophany" is far too recherché.[24]

Nor would he have written that the central structural baldachin of Hagia Sophia and other buildings "expressed in its forms the domical image of heaven and the ancient canopied symbol of divine

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[22] Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (as in n. 16), 157-158.

[23] For his pleasure in the clarity of English see himself, "And Gladly Did he Learn" (as in n. 5), 104.

[24] MacDonald, *Early Christian & Byzantine* (as in n. 21), 36.

approval..."[25] It is not that the inventor of the "iconography of architecture" doubted the reality or importance of architectural symbolism, but he considered symbolism to be a culturally specific investment in a neutral form. In week seven of the course, summarizing developments of the seventh and eighth centuries, symbolism was introduced as an innovation of the period, with reference to the Syriac hymn on the cathedral of Edessa and the writings of pseudo-Dionysios, Maximos the Confessor, and the Patriarch Germanos. The notion that the dome or any other form was essentially or intrinsically symbolic never arose. Ethnic and racial essentialism were equally beyond the pale. Conant's claim that Hagia Sophia represents "a rare and perfect combination of Roman largeness with Greek inventiveness and subtlety, touched with oriental enchantment" sounds vaguely lunatic to anyone trained in Krautheimer's contextual approach.[26]

Contextualism did not entail or authorize impersonation. Krautheimer's Procopian observer, reconstituted in plain English in the lecture hall or on the page, was entirely anachronistic. Neither a Byzantine panegyrist nor neo-platonic cleric, he was a projection of the twentieth-century rational pragmatist. It would be naive to suppose that this projection was not deliberate. The Krautheimerian historian's account of Hagia Sophia is not a repetition of historical sources but a colloquial translation, into an idiom as comfortable for the translator as for his audience. Despite its individuality, there is little that is strictly personal. A striking feature of Krautheimer's descriptive language -- unusual among writers who deal with perceptual intangibles like space -- is that it nearly lacks a psychological dimension. Presumably, he decided to project only the least subjective aspects of his thinking. Perhaps this explains why his work so easily became and remains normative, and why it

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[25] *Ibid.*, 33.

[26] Conant, *A Brief Commentary* (as in n. 20), 13. On the contextual approach see Ackerman, "Richard Krautheimer" (as in n. 12), 81-91; *idem*, "Richard Krautheimer's 'Method'," in *In Memoriam* (as in n. 3), 67-71.

has such extensive cross-over utility for scholars in other disciplines and other fields.

So much, then, for the lectures. The seminar was different; the safe spectatorial distance of the lecture hall was unavailable, and we were engaged at very close range. For a novice it required steeling. Krautheimer was direct. Comments ventured without sufficient authority or reasoning were subject to unmitigated public correction. But he was also genial. He laughed, and sometimes guffawed. The combination of energy, rigor, frankness, and warmth was irresistible. He claimed that he was attracted to his own teacher, Paul Frankl, as much by his personality as by the subject he taught, and I think that many of us similarly were drawn to Krautheimer.[27] It was instantly clear that no moment spent in his company could be dull; uncomfortable surely, intimidating almost always, chastening on occasion, but also hilarious, instructive, and inspiring. In his touching obituary, John Mitchell wrote that Krautheimer "loved company, particularly that of the young, the intelligent and the lively."[28] That is exactly right. While we were not really "company" in the seminar, it was clear that he enjoyed the conversation. He loved the topic. He loved the discipline. He loved life.

The seminar was loosely controlled. Although it was announced that the subject would be Justinianic standard building -- the churches outside the family of "double-shells" like Hagia Sophia -- it dealt mostly with Hagia Sophia itself and with buildings of a later generation, the "cross-domed churches" of the Pelican's chapter 12. Krautheimer suspected that the type might have originated in the Justinianic era. The buildings offered as topics for our reports were Hagia Sophia in Thessaloniki, St. Clement in Ankara, Dere Ağzī, the Koimesis church in Nicaea, and Hagia Eirene.[29] Many of the reports

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[27] Krautheimer, "And Gladly Did he Learn" (as in n. 5), 94.

[28] John Mitchell, "Rome, sweet Rome," *The Guardian*, 26 November 1994.

[29] Little was known at the time of the related buildings at Sige and Vize; see Kleinbauer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (as in n. 1), Nos. 1296 and 1301. The church at Sige was imperfectly integrated into the discussion of the

spanned two weeks, and Krautheimer himself took charge of only the two initial sessions on Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. We spent most of these four hours struggling to interpret primary sources. I still have my careful transcriptions from Agathias, Malalas, and Evagrius, with interlinear translations of nearly every word. Some might have said that after only six weeks of formal study my Greek could not have been up to this task, but the approach to languages throughout the Institute was pragmatic; you learn by doing.[30]

The point was not to produce philologists in any case, but to give us real historical work and the experience of real research. Reading sources in translation was not considered real research. Summarizing secondary literature was not research. Research went right to the evidence. All of the buildings given as topics posed unresolved problems, mostly of date, usually answerable, if at all, by physical examination. We could not inspect them in person, but we could pore over every published photograph, read every published archaeological report, study every architect's graphic analysis. And we could reason our way to a conclusion.

The defining moment of the seminar for me occurred early on, when I was required to go to Krautheimer's office to discuss my topic, Hagia Sophia in Thessaloniki. I cannot remember what I expected from this visit, perhaps additional bibliography or suggestions on how to proceed. Instead, he went to a filing cabinet, opened a drawer, removed a folder and gave it to me, telling me to copy what I needed and bring it back. That file made an indelible impression. Everything in it was raw material, personal,

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cross-domed type in later editions of the Pelican: *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, revised by Richard Krautheimer and Slododan Ćurčić (New York, 1986), 288-289. Vize is mentioned only in passing: *ibid.*, p. 423.

[30] Colin Eisler's advice on reading bibliography in Dutch was to "read fast and pretend it's German;" it often works. Compare Ackerman's account of learning Spanish: "the term was twelve weeks long, which allowed six weeks for learning Spanish, and six for doing the paper" ("Richard Krautheimer" [as in n. 12], 85).

irreplaceable raw material, including notes and sketches made *in situ* on that study trip in 1954, tables comparing the masonry of related churches, photographs made in 1932, in short, everything he knew about the building. The implication was that I should, and could, take it from there. This episode alone explains why Krautheimer was such an extraordinary teacher. From the beginning he treated each of us as if we might go farther than he had on the road of research, and he sent us off with every provision he could supply.

Except a map. At no point in the seminar did we reflect on how to do what we were doing. Method was not a subject of analysis; "theory" was not a word we used. Much later Krautheimer would write that he had always "shunned art theory, basic principles, and methodologies. As I see it there is no *one* method for approaching the history of art."[31] The method should always be *ad hoc*, adapted to, or even deduced from, the problem. In a pithy summation, James Ackerman called this approach "inspired empiricism."[32] Inspired empiricism is what Krautheimer expected of us as well, although he did not say so. The seminar's research exercises were designed to show us how to be empirical, but even Krautheimer could not teach inspiration. Those of us who had it, or seemed to, were successful, sometimes without really understanding why.

Atheoretical empiricism was not a peculiarity of Krautheimer; it was the mode throughout the Institute of Fine Arts in the 1960s, as it had been for decades.[33] The "crisis" of art history being bruited in other circles - even other circles in New York - was not felt there until much later.[34] As a new Ph.D. it was disconcerting to emerge into the professional climate of the mid-1970s and discover that

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[31] Krautheimer, "And Gladly Did he Learn" (as in n. 5), 123.

[32] Ackerman, "Richard Krautheimer's 'Method'" (as in n. 26), 71.

[33] Colin Eisler's description of a largely atheoretical discipline, written in the later '60s, seems to pertain more to the Institute than to art history as a whole: "*Kunstgeschichte* American Style" (as in n. 11), 605.

[34] The crisis was institutionalized in 1982 with a special issue of the *Art Journal*, which is published by the College Art Association; see the following note.

"empirical," often linked with "positivist," was a pejorative. Monographs were no longer "interesting," and the questions we had been so rigorously trained to answer - who? what? where? when? how? - turned out to be suspect habits of an unexamined ideology.[35] Krautheimer, by then living in Rome and composing what would become the century's greatest book about that city, was untouched by this development.[36] Many of us followed his lead and kept doing the kind of work we knew we could do well, regardless of whether or not it was in fashion.

In retrospect, however, it seems that a little theory might have brightened the picture. Suppose that in the seminar, in addition to Agathias and Evagrius, we had read George Kubler's *The Shape of Time*.[37] It disrupts every one of the Pelican's structuring concepts: chronology, typology, and geography. Krautheimer, who once told me that he liked always to be at work on two different kinds of project simultaneously: something like the *Corpus basilicarum* (viz., something empirical) that he could do at night when he was tired, and something involving ideas, should not have objected in principle to combining Kubler with Agathias. He would not have done it, however, not because he thought Kubler's work too speculative (as I suspect he did), but because he would have considered *The Shape of Time* the sort of thing we could read on our own. If we were spending all of our time on Agathias, well, that was our choice.

Sometime after I had given my seminar report, Krautheimer remarked that Hagia Sophia in Thessaloniki could be the topic of a dissertation. This oblique invitation was an honor, which -- although I had not previously had any thought of specializing in architecture --

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35 Eisler, "*Kunstgeschichte* American Style" (as in n. 11), 605; Henri Zerner, "Editor's Statement: The Crisis in the Discipline," *Art Journal* 42 (1982), 279.

36 Richard Krautheimer, *Rome. Profile of a City, 312-1308* (Princeton, 1980).

37 George Kubler, *The Shape of Time. Remarks on the History of Things* (New Haven and London, 1962).

I had the wit to accept.[38] Subsequently he steered me to a different topic, Santa Maria in Trastevere in Rome, which was much better suited to my skills.[39] Like a number of other dissertations, mine was finished by correspondence after Krautheimer retired to Rome in 1971. When I began teaching in 1972 and could write only during the summers, Krautheimer readily invited me to send my drafts to his resort address in Flims. He read at once whatever I could send him, returning by almost the next mail long lists of skeptical queries and corrections. When I was put under an implacable deadline to finish by September 1975 he worked even faster, not without comment but certainly without complaint. And when his job was done, in August 1975, I received a letter that concluded: "I've had fun reading these final chapters, as I have had fun reading the previous one and altogether working with you ... all these years. Thank you."

With the file on Hagia Sophia, this letter exemplifies the essential and extraordinary character of Richard Krautheimer the teacher. He was an immensely busy, enormously productive, powerful, and influential man. He did not have a small ego. And yet he never felt himself too grand to do the grunt work of scholarship and teaching. He clambered in the dirt of excavations, trolled the stacks of

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[38] It was said that, looking toward retirement four years ahead, Krautheimer was not accepting new advisees, but he also took on Charles McClendon even later (dissertation 1978; *The Imperial Abbey of Farfa. Architectural Currents of the Early Middle Ages* [New Haven and London, 1987]). In retirement Krautheimer had several more generations of protégés in Rome; see their impressive "*Kinderfestschrift*": *Pratum Romanum. Richard Krautheimer zum 100. Geburtstag*, ed. Renate L. Colella, Meredith J. Gill, Lawrence A. Jenkins, and Petra Lamers (Wiesbaden, 1997).

[39] Eventually there was a dissertation on Hagia Sophia in Thessaloniki, written by a Greek student, which confirmed Krautheimer's suspicion by pushing back its origin almost to Justinian; Kleinbauer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (as in n. 1), No. 1308. Some of her conclusions have been debated by Slobodan Ćurčić, *Some Observations and Questions Regarding Early Christian Architecture in Thessaloniki* (Thessaloniki, 2000) 18-22.

libraries, continually revised his classroom lectures, and gave up his vacations to read imperfect dissertations and to hand-write multiple pages of advice. By patient explanation and correction he brought ignorant young people like me to a state of reasonable competence in a difficult field of research. He led or pushed us to a point at which we could have a voice in debates that had been going on, in some instances, for hundreds of years. And then, incredibly, he thanked us.

Dale Kinney
Bryn Mawr College

MEYENDORFF, JOHN (1926-1992)

JOHN H. ERICKSON

John Meyendorff, Scholar and Churchman

John Meyendorff was a distinguished Byzantinist and patrologist. He also was deeply involved in the life of the Orthodox Church. Most of his associates were fully acquainted with only one or the other of these areas of activity. But Fr. John himself never divided his life and work into watertight compartments. He believed that his work as a scholar was of practical value for the church today. It is no coincidence, for example, that his important scholarly study of *Christ in Eastern Christian Thought*[1] was written precisely at a time when he and other Chalcedonian Orthodox theologians were actively engaged in dialogue over Christological issues with theologians of the non-Chalcedonian, or Oriental, Orthodox tradition, in hopes of reunion between these two long-separated church families. He also believed that insights from living Orthodox Church experience were essential for a proper understanding of Byzantium.

Relatively few of Fr. John's fellow Orthodox Christians were familiar with his scholarly work, save by reputation. They may have been aware that he often traveled to Dumbarton Oaks (where he even served briefly as Acting Director of Studies in 1978) and that he taught at Fordham University (as professor of Byzantine history from 1967 onwards) and elsewhere. But they knew him first of all as a priest of great integrity and sincerity and as a member of the faculty of St. Vladimir's Orthodox Theological Seminary, where he served as a professor from his arrival in the United States in 1959 onwards and as dean from 1984 until 1992, when he announced his

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1 *Le Christ dans la théologie Byzantine* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1969; English trans. Washington, DC: Corpus Books, 1969; 2nd ed. Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1975).

retirement only a few months before his unexpected and untimely death of pancreatic cancer.

Of those who knew him at St. Vladimir's Seminary, many remember him best for his malapropisms and transpositions. In his homily at my own wedding, for example, he told my bride and me that we would turn wine into water in our marriage (cf. the gospel reading for the marriage service, John 2:1-11, which recounts the water-into-wine miracle at the marriage in Cana of Galilee). And everyone remembers the way he began the dismissal prayer at services for Epiphany one year: "May Christ our true God, who was baptized by Jordan in the John...." It is fortunate that Fr. John had a wonderful sense of humor and was able to laugh at himself. But all who knew him also remember the unfailing kindness and hospitality that he and his wife Maica (Marie) showed to friends and visitors, from the most distinguished to the humblest. And they even recall moments of great eloquence on his part. Fr. John's sermons and addresses often began in a halting way. His wife loved to recall a slide-illustrated lecture that Fr. John once gave in France. His first words, accompanying the first slide: "Voici une église" – "Here is a church." Then, as the second slide appeared: "Voici une autre église" - "Here is another church." But after some initial hesitation of this sort, as Fr. John warmed to his subject and his audience, he spoke with remarkable sincerity and passion. Particularly memorable were his sermons during Holy Week, and above all on Holy Saturday, when the Orthodox Church contemplates Christ lying dead in the tomb. Very often on this occasion Fr. John would call attention to the remarkable contrast between the tomb of Lenin in Moscow's Red Square and the tomb of St. Sergius of Radonezh in the Holy Trinity Lavra in Zagorsk: The former – truly an example of death masquerading as life. The latter – an example of how, in Christ, even the tomb can become life bearing and a locus of celebration and joy.

As for his fellow Byzantinists, most were willing to forgive Fr. John the eccentricity of being an Orthodox priest, but relatively few knew or cared much about his activities as a churchman. Few were

aware of the important role that he played in negotiations with the Russian Orthodox Church which led to its 1970 recognition of the autocephalous, or fully independent, status of the Orthodox Church in America (the OCA, until then known as the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church in North America, or Metropolia). Few if any read his monthly editorials in *The Orthodox Church* newspaper, the official journal of the OCA, which he edited for over a decade.[2] Few if any followed his activities in the World Council of Churches, where he was a long-standing member of the Central Committee and served as Moderator of the Council's Faith and Order Commission (1967-76). This is understandable but regrettable. One of his church school teachers when he was a little boy in Paris, Mrs. Sophie Koulomzine, liked to recall how little Ivan, when asked what he wanted to be when he grew up, immediately replied, "a theologian." A theologian he became, and as a theologian he wished above all to be remembered. One cannot properly appreciate his contribution to Byzantine studies without keeping this in mind. Both the strengths and limitations of Fr. John's work as a Byzantinist depend in great measure on his understanding of Orthodox theology and, more particularly, on his training as an Orthodox theologian.[3]

Byzantinists sometimes are asked to justify their chosen field of inquiry: Why go into Byzantine studies? We know the usual reasons given: This long-vanished empire continues to fascinate us for a variety of reasons. Byzantium represents an important chapter in the history of Hellenism or in the history of the Greek people. Byzantium helps to explain the continuing history of Eastern Europe.

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[2] Later collected in two volumes as *Vision of Unity* and *Witness to the World* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press,

[3] Appraisals of Fr. John's work as a theologian, which began to appear shortly after his death, include extended obituaries by Bernard Dupuy in *Istina* 38 (1993) 351-69, Dimitri Obolensky in *Sobornost* 15 (1993) 44-51, and Robert Slesinski in *Diakonia* 27 (1994) 5-17; and Lewis Shaw, "John Meyendorff and the Heritage of the Russian Theological Tradition," in *New Perspectives on Historical Theology: Essays in Memory of John Meyendorff*, ed. Bradley Nassif (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996) 10-42.

Byzantine achievements, particularly in the realm of art, have an intrinsic value.... Without discounting such reasons, Fr. John added another, which for him was particularly important: Byzantium represents a decisive chapter in the history of the Orthodox Church. And as an Orthodox theologian, Fr. John was convinced that this church is not simply a cultural phenomenon. Its essential identity, stretching back to the apostles, was achieved long before Constantine established a new imperial capital on the banks of the Bosporus, and its essential identity has been maintained ever since not just among Orthodox Christians in the Eastern Mediterranean lands once under Byzantine rule and in the Slavic lands once in the Byzantine sphere of influence, but even in America.

But still more can and must be said about Fr. John's understanding of the nature of the church. Born near Paris in 1926, the son of Russian émigré parents of aristocratic Baltic origin, he was raised in the lively but sometimes fractious world of the Russian emigration - a world rent by ecclesiastical schisms and by conflicting views on the historic destiny of Russia and its relation to the West. Intellectuals were forced, among other things, to ponder ecclesiological issues that had not troubled pre-revolutionary generations of Russian Orthodox Christians to any bothersome degree. What was one to make of that church which had occupied such a prominent role in Russian life as to be taken practically for granted but which now was persecuted nearly to the point of liquidation? What was it that gave the church its identity through time and space, even in the midst of chaos? These were the kinds of questions that preoccupied many of Fr. John's senior contemporaries and that would also deeply influence his own reading of church history, and therefore also his reading of Byzantine history.

Fr. John received much of his technical training as a Byzantinist at the Sorbonne. His reputation as a scholar was established with his critical edition of the *Triads* of St. Gregory Palamas, which he prepared for his Doctorat-es-Lettres (awarded in 1958, the year also

of his ordination to the priesthood).[4] In the introduction to that work, Fr. John singles out for special mention Rodolphe Guilland, Maurice de Gandillac and Paul Lemerle, all of that venerable university; and he also expresses his gratitude to the Institut Catholique in Paris, whose resources both human and material helped so many Orthodox Christians of Meyendorff's generation to enter the mainstream of modern theological scholarship. But these acknowledgements seem simply *pro forma.* In later years at least, Fr. John seldom if ever talked about his old professors at the Sorbonne, though he did occasionally mention the stimulating environment of the Institut Catholique. On the other hand, he repeatedly referred to his old professors at St. Sergius Institute in Paris, where he received his theological training - above all to Fr. Kiprian Kern (also mentioned in his introduction to the *Triads)* and Fr. Nicholas Afanasiev.

The influence of these mentors can be seen, first of all, in Fr. John's decision to pursue patristic studies and, specifically, the study of St. Gregory Palamas. Palamas - and the practice of hesychastic prayer which he defended - was not exactly unknown before Fr. John's work. Russian theologians like Kern and Florovsky had produced insightful essays, but apart from some work by Myra Lot-Borodine, little was available in Western European languages save for the very unsympathetic treatments of Fr. Martin Jugie and the Assumptionist fathers. Fr. John brought to this subject the technical skills of a well-trained Byzantinist, but his over-all interpretive framework owes more to his Russian theological mentors. At the risk of oversimplifying, I should like to mention two aspects of this interpretive framework that have a particular bearing on Fr. John's approach to Byzantium.

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[4] *Grégoire Palamas, Défense des Saints hésychastes* (Louvain: Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense, 1959; English trans. New York: Paulist Press, 1983). See also his *Introduction à l'étude de Grégoire Palamas* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1965; English trans. London: Faith Press, 1964, 2nd ed. Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1974).

- First of all, like his Russian mentors, Fr. John was convinced of the essential unity and coherence of the Eastern patristic tradition, from the earliest centuries through Palamas in the fourteenth century and beyond. He had relatively little interest in the personal idiosyncrasies of the church fathers whom he studied. While he was not insensitive to their particular points of emphasis or cultural contexts, he especially enjoyed tracing the underlying theological and spiritual themes that run throughout their works. This is reflected, for example, in his book *Byzantine Theology: Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes,*[5] in which he frequently speaks of the "consensus" and "continuity" that characterized Byzantine theology, making it part of a "living tradition" – to use the title of another of his books.[6]

- Second, again like his mentors, Fr. John liked to emphasize the distinctiveness, and at the same time the perennially normative character, of this Eastern patristic tradition. At times this could lead to a tendency to dichotomize: On the one hand - Greek personalism; on the other - Latin essentialism. On the one hand - the theocentric anthropology of the East, with its recognition of human beings' capacity for participation in divine life, for *theosis*; on the other - the Augustinian West's emphasis on original sin, on human incapacity, so that salvation comes to be seen, not as participation in divine life, but as an extrinsic *donum superadditum* dispensed through proper institutional channels to an otherwise autonomous human nature.

But are the fathers of the East really so consistent and uniform? And are they really so different from the West at every point? To his

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5 (New York: Fordham University Press, 1974).

6 *Living Tradition: Orthodox Witness in the Contemporary World* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1978). As Meyendorff points out, he deliberately took this title from an important collection of essays published by an earlier generation of Russian émigré theologians, *Zhivoe Predanie: Pravoslavie v sovremennosti* (Paris: YMCA, 1930).

great credit, Fr. John - unlike some of his less talented Orthodox contemporaries, imitators and heirs - recognized that the truth was not quite so simple. For example, even in his early *Introduction à l'étude de Grégoire Palamas* he acknowledged that the saint was "one of the most Augustinian authors of the Christian East" with regard to his doctrine of grace.[7] He therefore would not have been surprised or shocked by a recent article by Reinhard Flogaus that appeared in his own *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly,* which very convincingly demonstrates Palamas' indebtedness to Augustine's *De Trinitate*.[8]

Fr. John's first love was patristics. At least that was the area of his doctoral disseration and much of his teaching. But he also had an abiding interest in ecclesiology, which is evident in every aspect of his work. In his approach to ecclesiology, Fr. John was deeply influenced by one of his younger teachers at St. Sergius, Fr. Nicholas Afanasiev. Like Afanasiev, Fr. John was a great exponent of "eucharistic ecclesiology." According to this approach, the Church is first and foremost a sacramental organism whose primary realization is to be found in its liturgical life, above all in the eucharist. Where all the clergy and faithful are gathered around the bishop in eucharistic communion, there is the church. The local church therefore is not simply the branch office of a universal institution but the full realization in a given place of the one, holy, catholic and apostolic church confessed in the creed.

Eucharistic ecclesiology gave Fr. John a coherent way to explain the internal dynamics of Byzantine church life. It affected his approach even to subjects such as marriage, which at first glance might appear to have little to do with the eucharist or with

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7 *Introduction* p. 175.

8 "Palamas and Barlaam Revisited: A Reassessment of East and West in the Hesychast Controversy of 14th-century Byzantium," *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 42 (1998) 1-32.

ecclesiology.[9] Fr. John developed its basic premise in several different ways, all of which have a bearing on his approach to Byzantine history. What he chose to emphasize in Byzantium, and also what he chose to regard as insignificant or possibly as deviant, in large measure depended on how the subject in question fitted into this interpretive framework. Two examples may illustrate this point.

- First of all, like Afanasiev, Fr. John liked to contrast this eastern "eucharistic ecclesiology" with the West's "universal ecclesiology," whose internal logic (it was argued) inevitably led to papacy and to an excessively institutional understanding of the church. Granted that the model of the church set forth by exponents of eucharistic ecclesiology may correspond more or less closely to the realities of church life at the time of St. Ignatius of Antioch and certain other second-century sources. But does it correspond to realities, e.g., in the later Byzantine Empire? I sometimes liked to tease Fr. John on this point. I would refer to the old study by Anton Pavlov, on "The Theory of Eastern Papism,"[10] and call attention to the notion of *kēdemonia pantōn* expressed, for example, in the famous letter of Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos to the princes of Russia, according to which metropolitans and bishops in diverse parts of the world are simply the patriarch's representatives, necessary only because patriarch himself is not ubiquitous. Might it not be, I would suggest to Fr. John, that the medieval Roman papacy and the Constantinopolitan patriarchate were more alike than we sometimes care to acknowledge - that they represented analogous responses to historical circumstances quite unlike those at the time of St. Ignatius of Antioch? Fr. John would become quite agitated. He would insist that the letter of Philotheos is just an example of Byzantine rhetorical

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[9] See, for example, "Christian Marriage in Byzantium: The Canonical and Liturgical Tradition," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 44 (1990) 99-107, and, on a popular level, *Marriage: An Orthodox Perspective* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1970).

[10] "Theoriia vostochnogo papisma..." in *Pravoslavnoe Obozreniie,* 1879.

exaggeration; that, despite some superficial similarities, the late Byzantine notion of *kēdomonia pantōn* was fundamentally different from western papal ideas of *plenitudo potestatis*. He would insist that, deep down, Byzantine ecclesiology remained true to its eucharistic roots.

- Let us also consider Fr. John's treatment of the Byzantine hesychastic tradition. He had little taste for what he called "esoteric mysticism." Students raised on J.D. Salinger, who first learned about the Jesus Prayer and hesychasm by reading *Franny and Zooey*, were understandably disappointed when Fr. John lectured on Palamas. No instant vision of the uncreated light of Tabor here! For Fr. John, what characterized authentic Byzantine monastic spirituality, as represented by Palamas, was its commitment to a sacramental understanding of the Church, which - concretely - meant life in a worshiping community. Unlike deviant Messalians, who would oppose the spiritual authority of mystical experience to the institutional authority of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, authentic Byzantine monasticism - in Fr. John's view - exercised a charismatic or prophetic role "only in the context of sacramental liturgical communion, which itself presupposed the existence of an institutional hierarchy."[11] At the same time, hierarchical authority itself was inseparable from sacramental communion. Having known its share of heretical patriarchs and emperors and pseudo-councils, the Orthodox East regularly subjected the claims of individual office-holders to the test of liturgy, the central expression of the *pleroma* of the church.

In the last years of his life, Fr. John turned increasingly to the study of church history. In *Byzantium and the Rise of Russia: A Study of Byzantine-Russian Relations in the Fourteenth Century*[12] he

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[11] "The Liturgy: A Lead to the Mind of Byzantium," in *The Byzantine Legacy in the Orthodox Church* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1982) 122.

[12] (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

called attention to the role of hesychasm as a unifying cultural movement in late medieval Eastern Europe; and in *Imperial Unity and Christian Division: The Church 450-680 A.D.*[13] he examined the forces, both spiritual and institutional, which held diversity in unity in the centuries preceding the schism of East and West. What impressed him most, whether in late medieval Orthodoxy or in Christian antiquity, was the extent to which unity of faith and church order was maintained without recourse to a uniform and juridically binding administrative system. Here, as in his earlier works, he insisted on the ecclesiological significance of the church's sacramental life, as expressed above all in the eucharist.

Is it possible to combine scholarly integrity with committed churchmanship? While some scholars - and some churchmen - may doubt this, John Meyendorff was convinced that this is possible. And unless one takes into consideration Fr. John's convictions on this point, one will not be able to evaluate properly his contributions whether as a scholar or as a churchman. His vision of Byzantium may need correction at certain points, but his legacy to future generations is a rich one. He certainly was a pioneer in Byzantine studies in America. As the Orthodox Church prays each year on the anniversary of his death, may his memory be eternal!

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[13] (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1989).

OOST, STEWART IRVIN (1921-1981)

FRANK M. CLOVER

Stewart Irvin Oost and the "Chicago School"

A Distinguished Lineage

The fields of Ancient and Medieval History are both linked and separated. A temporal continuum connects Classical Antiquity with the Middle Age which followed. The methods of studying the two periods are similar. The complexities of investigation, however, induce specialization, and expertise in both fields is [and has been for some time] virtually impossible. To be sure, an occasional medievalist will move backward in time to the classical period, and an ancient historian or two will sometimes cross over the line in the other direction. The meeting ground for strays is Late Antiquity, a nebulous period which may have begun when the Severan Dynasty held sway (A.D. 193-235) and concluded when the Macedonian Emperors took the helm of the Roman State (A.D. 867-1056).

Stewart Irvin Oost, originating from a Michigan-based family of Dutch extraction, was one of these wanderers, at least for a brief and memorable time in his career. His academic ancestry was most influential, and resolutely rooted in the Classical Mediterranean. Stewart Oost's academic grandfather was William Scott Ferguson, the Cornell-trained Ancient History pioneer who first taught at the University of California, and then in 1908 moved to Harvard University. There he became the founder of a dynasty of ancient historians, major leaders in the study of Classical Antiquity from roughly the 1920s through the 1960s. The dynasty included Sterling Dow (Harvard), Jakob Aall Ottesen Larsen (University of Chicago), Charles Edson (University of Wisconsin), Vincent Scramuzza (Smith College), and Arthur Edward Romilly Boak (University of Michigan).

Stewart Oost belongs to the Larsen branch of the Ferguson lineage. Jake Larsen was a true son of Professor Ferguson, a

resolute ancient historian whose fascination with representative government in Ancient Greece made him a pioneer on this subject, and led him on many an interesting side path – most notably the Roman conquest of the Greek East in the third and second centuries B.C. Stewart Oost studied at Chicago, earning his B.A. in 1941, and then (after military service) his M.A. and Ph.D. in 1947 and 1950. He was student and eventually successor to Jake Larsen, teaching first at Southern Methodist University from 1948 to 1959, and then returning to Chicago as the principal ancient historian (1959-1981). His first major publication, printed by the Arnold Foundation in Dallas (1954), was the Larsen-inspired investigation of Roman policy in Epirus and Acarnania, during the age of the Roman conquest. So far, so good: a grandson of William Scott Ferguson was becoming an influential ancient historian.

Other Influences

The Ph.D. at Chicago has always been a wide-ranging degree. In his field training Stewart Oost took extensive instruction in Medieval History. The preface to his book on Galla Placidia contains special notice of Einar Joranson, a principal inspiration for the biographical essay on the great empress. Professor Joranson lectured on Theodosius' daughter with force and humor to a "rapt undergraduate class" (*Galla Placidia Augusta* [University of Chicago Press, 1968], p. ix), and the idea of a book-length study became irresistible. Einar Joranson, a Swedish immigrant, took his Ph.D. at Chicago in 1920, and remained on the history faculty until his retirement in 1948. A member of the Medieval Academy, he was noted for his investigations of Frankish-Viking contacts.

The influence of another medievalist, James Lea Cate, was more complex. Jimmy Cate was a student of James Westfall Thompson, earning his Ph.D. at Chicago in 1935 and remaining on the history faculty until his retirement in 1965. He was noted for both article-length studies in medieval history and a seven-volume history of the Army Air Forces in World War II. Jimmy Cate's influence on

Stewart Oost was more diffuse than that of Einar Joranson. One can see in many a page of Galla Placidia Augusta Jimmy cate's critical approach to literary and documentary sources of the Middle Ages. In addition, Stewart Oost sought advice from Jimmy Cate on occasions when relations with Jake Larsen became difficult. It was Jimmy Cate (B.A. and M.A. University of Texas) who found the S.M.U. position for Stewart Oost, and Jimmy Cate helped pave the way for Stewart Oost's return to Chicago in 1959.

Research on a Circular Path

Stewart Oost came to late Rome and early Byzantium in the middle of his 30-year professional career. His sojourn there was part of an overall plan, which he revealed only toward the end of his life. He wanted, by selective investigations, to become acquainted with Classical Antiquity from Homer to Justinian. "When I have finished," he told me in early 1981, "I may know a little something about the Ancient World." During the 1950s Stewart Oost's article-length publications, the staple of his productivity beyond the two books, focused on Roman history from the Middle Republic to the Early Principate. At the beginning of the 1960s, however, various preludes to Galla Placidia Augusta signaled a shift to the outer edge of what proved to be a research circle. Stewart Oost remained within reach of Theodosian Rome and Constantinople until 1970, even publishing after-thoughts on the age of Galla Placidia – for instance, articles on the western emperors Majorian and Libius Severus. Then he departed, moving to the base of the circle – Archaic and Classical Greece. Articles on the Greek tyrants, Thucydides, and Xenophon's attitude toward women ensued during the 1970s. Did these forays have any connection with the previous sojourns in Roman history? They did: Stewart Oost wanted to close the circle before or around the time he retired to San Diego, his chosen alternative to the American Midwest.

Around 1980 Stewart Oost began work on a book-length study of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (regn. 281-246 B.C.), the very monarch

whose overtures of friendship with Rome (ca. 273/272 B.C.) marked the beginning of the overseas conquests – the very topic which the young Oost had studied so well in the 1950s. But institutional duties plague all senior academics. Since 1978 Stewart Oost had been Editor of *Classical Philology*, the University of Chicago's journal of classical studies. He explained the state of siege to me in a letter dated April 22nd, 1981: "My predecessors for a quarter of a century as editors of CP were enabled to drop half their teaching programs. If I did that Greek and Roman history either on the graduate or undergraduate level would cease to exist in this University. This year, thus, I am teaching a full load of courses as well as doing this editing; apparently there is no way I can escape this burden . . . . . In the rare interstices of time I try to do a little research of my own. I hope that I will be able to produce a book about Ptolemy Philadelphus before I die or lose my marbles." Six weeks after he typed these words, Stewart Oost died suddenly, on June 11th, 1981. His research papers and immense library, called the Bibliotheca Anatolica (a pun on his surname: "oost" is "east" in Dutch), went by will and testament to Southern Methodist University. His research papers soon became accessible, in the Fondren Library at S.M.U. I inspected these papers in October of 1982, during an Oost commemoration sponsored by S.M.U. and the Southeastern Medieval Association. I found two files boxes of scattered notes on Ptolemy II. The new book was still in embryo.

The Chicago School

From 1965 until 1968 there was an unusual confluence of energies and interest within the History Faculty at Chicago. Stewart Oost completed *Galla Placidia Augusta,* and Walter Kaegi (a new faculty arrival in 1965) worked hard on and then published *Byzantium and the Decline of Rome*. The momentary juncture of research concerns had interesting repercussions. Graduate students attracted into the fifth century by the research of two faculty members gained differing perspectives on a critical century in

Mediterranean history. Some of these students published their own works on this century in subsequent years. Scholars outside Chicago soon took note of the ripple effect. André Loyen of Toulouse (Revue des études anciennes 74 [1972], 153-174) gave the phenomenon a name – "the Chicago School." The appellation remained in use for a short time, losing its currency when the research interests of Stewart Oost and Walter Kaegi diverged.

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SOULIS, GEORGE C. (1927-1978)

GEORGE P. MAJESKA

George Christos Soulis
1927-1966

"The Slavic Connection"

George Christos Soulis was a special scholar in many different ways. An ardently patriotic Greek deeply devoted to Greek culture of various periods,[1] he chose to view the Byzantine Empire from the point of view of what others would have called "an outsider." To Soulis, Byzantium was not a historical state with geographic frontiers, but rather a *Weltanschauung,* a shared set of values that knew no geographic or political boundaries, but could be recognized by its visible cultural fruits. This is why he was so successful in interpreting not only Serbian history, but also the history of other pieces of the medieval Balkans -- be the pieces Serres[2] or Tziganes.[3] Soulis conceived the Byzantine Empire as a great mosaic where the tesserae had indistinct (and often changing) edges. He felt that illuminating now one area of the mosaic, now another, would eventually improve our perception of the whole composition. Too

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[1] Best known as a historian of the Byzantine Empire and the Slavic Balkans in the middle ages. Soulis also published widely in modern Greek history and literature, particularly in his early years as a scholar; see his collected works, Γεώργιος Σούλης 1927-1966: Ἱστορικὰ μελετήματα: Βυζαντινά-Βαλκανικά-Νεοελληνκά / *George Soulis 1927-1966: Historical Studies: Byzantina-Balcanica-Neoellenica* (Athens, 1980), Nos. 15-23, 31-33. This volume also contains a very useful introductory essay by Speros Vryonis, Jr., on pages ix-xi, as well as an appendix which includes not only several obituaries, but also eulogies read at a memorial meeting held in Athens in April of 1967.

[2] "Notes on the History of the City of Serres under the Serbs (1341-1371)," Αφιέρωμα στὴ μνήμη τοῦ Μανόλη Τριανταφυλλίδη (Thessalonica, 1960), 373-79.

[3] "The Gypsies in the Byzantine Empire and the Balkans in the Late Middle Ages," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 15 (1961), 141-65.

often people concentrated on the center and never noticed the periphery and thereby missed basic relationships that made the mosaic work as a unified composition. He tried to change these age-long habits, often purposely looking at the center from the edges of the composition.

Soulis chose to work in the United States where he would be free to view Byzantium from whatever perspective he chose, even from the perspective of the geographic outsider of the Byzantine core or from the perspective of the provincial or ethnic edges of the polity. This scholar with the special sensitivities of a cultured Greek patriot who could also view the Empire "of the Romans" from the Slavic provinces of a still recognizably Byzantine world had much to offer modern scholarship.

George Soulis was born in 1927 in Ioannina, Greece, and died very suddenly and unexpectedly in 1966 in Berkeley, California. He had not reached his fortieth birthday.[4]

George Soulis came from "good stock." His father, Christos Soulis, was a highly literate and sophisticated headmaster of a leading high school (gymnasium) in Ioannina, and a recognized leader of the intelligentsia of the city, a member, thus, of the cultural élite. His father's cosmopolitanism rubbed off on young George; he was barely seventeen when he began publishing, mostly on those subjects about which then, as now, Greeks tend to be passionate: the language question, literature (particularly poetry), and, of course, history, both local, at first emphasizing his native Epirus, and, then, national, with, it would seem, a special interest in nineteenth-century Greece. Already in his early twenties, Soulis was becoming a passionate bibliographer. Probably because he "kept up on the literature," he seems to have become almost a professional necrologist, regularly called on to write obituaries for deceased scholars. It is clear from these necrologies that Soulis knew the dead scholars' work

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[4] There is a very useful biography of George Soulis along with a bibliography of his work by Professor A. I. Vranousis in Ἐπετήρις Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν 39 (1965), 342-48.

intimately.[5] Soulis' ready recall of bibliographic items would always be a source of amazement to his students and colleagues. But in bibliography as in his scholarship later, Soulis was not just a "hedgehog," who only knew the hard data of a circumscribed area; he was also a "fox," who understood the place of the single tree in the great forest. One of Soulis' lesser known later works is a masterful survey of "Historical Studies in the Balkans in Modern Times," a brilliant essay that captures beautifully the political and intellectual role that historical studies have (for better or worse) played in the development of Balkan national life. It is included in an anthology of essays edited by Soulis' dear friends, the Jelaviches.[6] A theme that inspires much of Soulis' early research is foreign travelers' views of the countries they visited. Soulis realized how important such notes were for historians because these sources preserved data that locals never bothered to record (because local people knew those things); mostly here Soulis dealt with nineteenth-century Greece.[7] He eventually also inspired at least two doctoral students in history at Indiana University to follow his example in their dissertations.[8]

After a brief stint as a student at the University of Athens, Soulis came to the United States with a scholarship to Tufts University. (He already had a significant publication record.) From Tufts he moved up the road to Harvard for graduate study and was soon chosen to be a Junior Fellow of the Society of Fellows at Harvard. There his American scholarly career began in earnest. He quite naturally gravitated towards Robert Lee Wolff, whose bi-polar interests in Byzantium and the Slavic Balkans he was coming more and more to share. At Harvard Soulis applied himself to the learning of various Slavic languages (he was very good at languages, even better than most Byzantinists), and made medieval Slavdom as much his field as

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[5] See Ἱστορικὰ μελετήματα, Nos. 24-30.

[6] *The Balkans in Transition,* edd. Charles and Barbara Jelavich (Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1963), pp. 421-38

[7] See Ἱστορικὰ μελετήματα, Nos. 15-23, *passim.*

[8] Emily Velde wrote her dissertation on a European visitor's description of Muscovy during the Time of Troubles (1966), and George Majeska translated and edited the Journey of Ignatius of Smolensk to Constantinople (1968).

Byzantium. At that time Harvard University boasted probably the finest collection of Slavists in the world; besides Wolff, there was Roman Jacobson, Albert Lord, Horace Lunt and, perhaps most important for Soulis' development, occasionally Francis Dvornik, arguably the father of modern Byzantine-Slavic studies in the West.

At Harvard, Soulis' interests came to focus more and more on late medieval Serbia and what he perceived as its essence: an attempt, particularly in the reign of Tsar Dušan (1331-1355), to adapt and reformulate Byzantine civilization, with all that it entails, to the Slavic milieu of the late medieval Balkans. He saw Dušan's Serbia not as a Frankenstein monster accidentally created in the laboratory of the Byzantine foreign office that was about to devour, it seemed, the mad scientist that created it, but as a child of Byzantium that was slowly coming of age and demanding its right to take over the family inheritance. As the child rethinks, reworks, and adapts parents' beliefs, so Serbia would re-configure the Byzantine Christian cultural package, the Byzantine worldview, in its own way for its own purposes. The *active* reception of Byzantine culture, adapting it to local circumstances and local needs, would be a subject of endless fascination to George Soulis. This major theme of Soulis' scholarship gave birth to two important works. One was a paper he delivered at the 1964 Dumbarton Oaks Symposium, "Byzantium and the Slavs," where he shared the podium with, among others, the renowned Slavists, Francis Dvornik, Roman Jakobson, Horace Lunt, and Dimitri Obolensky; the paper investigated the Cyrillo-Methodian heritage in the Balkans. Published in the 1965 number of *Dumbarton Oaks Papers,* it is a superb synthetic study of the results of the *translation* of Byzantine culture into Slavic.[9] The other monument to Soulis' interest in this theme is his dissertation, which eventually became the monograph, *The Serbs and Byzantium During the Reign of Tsar Dušan and His Successors* (Washington, 1984). Soulis had reworked, expanded and rewritten only several chapters of his Harvard dissertation for publication as a monograph by the

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[9] "The Legacy of Cyril and Methodius to the Southern Slavs," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 19 (1965), 19-43

time he died. The kind of model meticulous attention to detail which he insisted on for himself as well as for others became here the virtue turned to vice. The reworked parts were superb, but only half the book. It took several years (and much prodding on both sides of the Atlantic) for scholars to realize that a half-revised manuscript by George Soulis was at least as worthy of publication as many completed manuscripts in the Byzantine field. It is to Soulis' dear friends and colleagues Speros Vryonis and the late Seka Allen that we owe the availability of what still stands as the fundamental work on Dušan's Serbia. The importance of their work updating the bibliography and notes and preparing the incomplete manuscript for publication deserves fulsome recognition. Soulis also published a number of cognate articles on fourteenth-century Serbia and Byzantium as well as a number of articles on aspects of local Byzantine history, particularly in areas of Slavic activity. And, again, as part of his interest in "outsiders" in Byzantium, one should mention his fascinating long article on the Gypsies in Byzantium and the Balkans.[10]

In 1955, Soulis left Harvard for its daughter institution in Washington, Dumbarton Oaks, where he already had close friends and colleagues in Milton Anastos and Father Dvornik. His mandate was to organize the Byzantine library which he did by calling in professional librarians from Harvard to create an appropriate catalog system. With (unneeded) prompting from Father Dvornik, Soulis massively increased the Slavic acquisitions of the library to reflect a broader definition of Byzantium as a cultural sphere rather than simply a political entity. Eventually, Soulis was appointed Librarian of Dumbarton Oaks, a position to be held by a scholar who would devote half time to overseeing the library. Soulis never quite understood "half-time positions," and became a full time director of

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[10] "The Gypsies in the Byzantine Empire" (see above, note 3). He also published on other non-Slavic minorities in the Balkans, such as the Vlachs ("The Thessalian Vlachia," *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta* 8 [1963], 271-73), and the Albanians ("Περὶ τῶν μεσαιωνικῶν ἀλβανικῶν φύλων τῶν Μαλακασίων, Μπουΐων καὶ Μεσαριτῶν," Ἐπετήρις Ἑταιρείας Βυζατινῶν Σπουδῶν 23 [1958], 125-30).

the library as well as a full-time scholar contributing to the intellectual life of the community of Byzantinists there. Much of his English language scholarship was produced while he was in residence at Dumbarton Oaks, but its Byzantine library also stands as a monument to his time at the institution. Thanks to him, it is quite possible to research medieval Slavic and Caucasian topics (Sirapie Der Nersessian was there at that time too), as well as more centrally Byzantine subjects. Under Soulis' direction, the card-catalog became a major research tool of the field. Soulis dearly loved Dumbarton Oaks, and he made excellent use of its resources, human as well as bibliographic, but he came to feel a bit uncomfortable in this essentially European research institute incongruously transplanted in the United States; he came to feel that he was getting into a rut in his research, always sharing ideas with the same people. He wanted the stimulation of students, and when he was courted by Indiana University to join their fast growing Slavic and East European interdisciplinary program, he accepted.

Bloomington, Indiana, was certainly an odd place to be for George Soulis. Indiana University was put there because the town of Bloomington was central to the southern half of the state; it was (and is) a stone-cutter community and county seat. The university, which itself is twice as large as the town, has its own life, but, occasionally even academics had to deal with the local populace, which they seldom really understood. Professors, for example, found it difficult to conceive of people dancing to Gospel music in the local bars. And, of course, the *New York Times* was never available until after three on Sunday afternoon!

Soulis taught medieval Slavic history courses and Byzantine history courses to undergraduates (and graduate students), and the two sequences never got mixed up. He eschewed, on deeply held philosophical grounds, the temptation to see medieval Slavdom as simply an appendage to Byzantine triumphalism. Each nation (ethnos) had, he felt, its own independent history; occasionally, this history would see the appearance of a Byzantine overlay that colored the history, but was rarely fundamental to it. Byzantine culture was something one appropriated, not got lost in. A fair number of

students of eastern or southeastern European ethnic-background registered for these courses, often bringing the mythic baggage of their *ethnoi* with them. Greeks or Slavs, Soulis managed to help these students make their viewpoint known to their classmates and helped them rethink their prejudices into history without ever belittling them -- always making clear how much he appreciated the special knowledge they brought to the class. Sometimes students ended up in his class because it was at a convenient time (although, as far as I know, Soulis never understood that and assumed they were genuinely interested in the rise of Skanderbeg's Albania or Nicolae Jorga's vision of the eastern Mediterranean). These students got special attention -- he sensed they were not absorbing the material too well. The special attention often made them self-conscious and then they had to study, they felt, because this nice teacher was spending time on them.

For Soulis, teaching was an exercise in intellectual engagement, not simply with the students, but also with the facts, and particularly with the sources. Even in his undergraduate classes, he constantly referred to the primary sources from which he was taking his material. And indeed, students were required to read significant pieces of primary sources and write essays on the ways they were or were not good historical sources.

Anyone who had a class with George Soulis at Indiana will have one special memory. Soulis would be explaining carefully the ramifications of some historical problem when, all of a sudden, something would "click" and he would obviously start to see a relationship he had not considered before. He would walk to the window and stare out, obviously thinking his new insight through (sometimes, it seemed, for several minutes), and then turn back to the class and say with a broad "eureka-smile," "Yes, . . . ," and then share his new insight with the students. History was clearly an ongoing process of interpretation for Soulis, even with undergraduates. And, with his combination of coaxing and hurt looks when students did not do well, he got them to perform. George Soulis really liked his students and expected them to perform up to par.

His door was always open to graduate students to talk about any academic interest or problem (or bibliographic difficulty) they had. If the topic seemed interesting, he would often suggest going for coffee with the student to talk about it at length. He worked closely with essentially five graduate students, three in Pre-Petrine Russian history (the late Emily Velde of St. Mary's College at Notre Dame, the late Thomas Noonan of the University of Minnesota, and John Alexander of the University of Kansas), and two in Byzantine-medieval Slavic history (Walter Hanack of Shepard College and George Majeska of the University of Maryland). In the end, he sat on the dissertation defense of few of then. Three years after coming to Indiana he accepted an offer from Berkeley -- in culture and in weather, a much more appropriate place for this cosmopolitan Greek than Bloomington Indiana. There he succumbed to a genetically weak heart and died of a heart attack, as his father had at a similarly young age, and equally unexpectedly.

George Soulis never married, but he very much acted as *pater familias* to his sister and widowed mother back in Greece, supporting them financially and morally; certainly his memory lives there, as well, of course, as in his published scholarship. His scholarly memory survives most notably in the graduate students he trained, but also, quite likely, among those undergraduate students to whom he managed to convey at least some part of his vision of the Byzantine Balkans. They might be unclear as to facts and dates, but what they doubtless all remember of Soulis' lessons is three things: that *all* history is based on primary sources, even in undergraduate courses; that drawing historical conclusions is hard and painful work; and that it is impossible not to work your hardest for that demonstrably decent professor up there.

George P. Majeska
University of Maryland

AN ADDENDUM:

George Soulis was a kind and helpful man, and I well remember his repeated willingness (in our shared Dumbarton Oaks Days) to sit

down with me and go over some of my textual work or my translations of Byzantine texts. George was particularly qualified for this because, beyond being a fine linguist, he had a rare sensitivity to words and their use. In that regard, he told me a charming story on himself. In his days of graduate study at Harvard, George (Greek-born and still new to the U.S.A.) was eager to build up his command of English and expand his vocabulary. He developed a practice, when he encountered a word new to him, of noting it down and then trying to work it into his conversation to secure it in his mind. One day he discovered the colloquial word "guy", and thought this a word he ought to put to work. Later that day, he was talking with a fellow student about a professor they both admired very much. "Yes," ventured George, "he is a wise guy." The hilarious response that greeted this observation gave George a pointed lesson in what can happen to words when you put them innocently into idiomatic combinations with other words.

THE EDITOR

STRUNK, OLIVER (1901-1980)

KENNETH LEVY

Oliver Strunk and Byzantine Musicology in America

Oliver Strunk lived from 1901 to 1980. He was one of the founders of American musicology, and during the middle 1900s he was its most versatile and influential practitioner. His output had remarkable breadth. There were essays on Vergil and music, on Latin medieval plainchant, 13th-century French polyphony, the 14th century's "ars nova"; the 15th century Flemish-Burgundian mass; Palestrina; Italian baroque opera, Haydn, Beethoven, Wagner and Verdi. There seemed to be no area of musical thought where his quick intelligence and rich imagination did not penetrate. His were milestone contributions: they have lasted; they still have their tough-minded glint. Beyond all else, Oliver was the founding father of Byzantine musical studies in America. Beginning in the late thirties the great bulk of his work was with the music of Byzantium and the Slavs.

That he became an academic at all was something of an accident. To be sure, the beginnings were auspicious. Oliver was born in the lap of academic luxury. He was the son of Cornell's legendary English professor, William Strunk, The elder Strunk's *Elements of Style*, as revised by his pupil E.B. White, now sits in well-thumbed reeditions on the desks of countless Americans. But like many a youth, Oliver was a rebel. He was a Cornell dropout; he never earned a college or university degree. What he wanted was to be a musician, to compose. In his early twenties he played the piano in silent movie houses at Buffalo and Rochester. Never a word of this from him, but there are tales of fast-lane motorcycle rides, and of an impetuous first marriage, soon annulled. He was in his 26th year —old age in those times– when he finally took an academic turn and enrolled in a musicology seminar at Cornell; then came a study year in Germany in 1927. Back at home, with no degree of any kind, there was no

track for academia. With luck, there was a job at the Library of Congress. And the brilliance was already showing. Half a dozen years later, at thirty-three, he was named chief of the Library's Music Division.

At that time the field of musicology, and even the field of music itself, had little foothold in American universities. Music history was taught at Cornell and Harvard. At Princeton, there wasn't even a music department. But a program was begun there in 1936 as a subdivision of art and archaeology. And the next year, that art department took a chance on the un-credentialed Strunk, appointing him an assistant professor of music. There was a Byzantine-related circumstance. Two of Princeton's art-historians, Kurt Weitzmann and Albert M. Friend, were distinguished Byzantinists, at the time preparing a facsimile edition of a 13th century hymn book at Mount Athos. What interested them most was its cycle of illuminations. But the hymn texts throughout had musical notations attached, and —exemplary scholars that they were— they cast about for enlightenment. Bert Friend was a musical amateur who read scores at the piano; and Kurt Weitzmann and his wife were faithful concert-goers. Not unnaturally, their search took them to the Library of Congress. Oliver Strunk knew nothing of such matters. He had no Greek. But where there was an intellectual challenge, his antennae were out, and he thought he might take a look. The nature and scope of the problem were soon apparent. The look turned into a lifelong passion. And it was the link with art historians that helped steer him toward the Princeton campus.

Five years later, in 1942, came a first major paper on Byzantine music, and with it there began a flow that would give definitive shape to the field. At the time, there was a north European enterprise devoted to Byzantine chant. The *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae* was launched at Copenhagen in the early 1930s. Byzantine music calls for an unusual combination of skills, and the MMB united three diversely-equipped scholars. HJW Tillyard was British and a classical philologist; he had modest musical equipment. Carsten

Hoeg was a Danish classicist, with an interest in ethnography; he was not a musician. Egon Wellesz was prominent as a Viennese composer, advocate of Arnold Schoenberg's 12-tone idiom; he had his Greek from an Austrian Gymnasium. With remarkable vigor, these three combined to bring out some important facsimile editions of early sources, as well as some of the first modern transcriptions of the old notations.

Yet the transcriptions were tentative. Nagging questions were left, particularly about pitch-levels and the tonal system. Unlike Western notation with its five-line staff, Byzantine musical notation has no connection to the piano keyboard. If one thinks of Western notation as a graph, where the ups and downs of note-heads on the written page are analogs of the rise and fall of heard pitch, then Byzantine notation can be seen operating with a digital principle. It specifies the starting pitch, then tells the succession of intervals that follow. In itself, it gives little information about the underlying "tonal system": about how, if at all, the particular pitches and intervals might relate to the piano keyboard. Were there 7-pitch scales that fit the keyboard, as often seems the case with Gregorian chant? Or were there chromatic half-steps and still smaller "enharmonic" intervals? The *MMB* in Copenhagen had made some good empirical guesses, but it was Strunk who gave the scales, starting pitches, and tonal framework a proper basis. Working independently (during the war no contact was possible), he provided a solid rationale for transcribing 13th century Byzantine notations onto the Western five-line staff. This showed a middle Byzantine system that was built essentially with 7-pitch diatonic scales; it supposed that in later Byzantine and post Byzantine times more nuanced chromatic options came to predominate.

Strunk went on to develop methods for transcribing some of the previously impenetrable paleo-Byzantine and paleo-Slavonic notations. He also explored the Empire's other major solo and choral repertories (the *Psaltikon, Asmatikon,* and *Akolouthiai*), which had scarcely been studied. Presently he joined the *MMB*, and during the

'60s and '70s he was the head of the enterprise. His roster of publications lit up every aspect of the field. In literary style he was his father's disciple. His essays are couched in a spare, elegant prose. They are collected in a 1977 volume, *Essays on Music in the Byzantine World.*

Oliver Strunk was a tall, gaunt man, with a Sherlock Holmes quality to both his mind and person. His intellectual horizons were vast. To his students it seemed that there was no area of musicology where he had not achieved complete mastery of what everyone else knew, and then, without ever belittling others, he had a better idea of how that knowledge might be applied. Personally, he was reserved and slow of speech, with little in the way of small talk or hail-fellow manner. He loved a good anecdote and the laughter that went with it, but in social situations he often stood shyly on the margin. Conversations with him could be punctuated by painful silences where neither party seemed to know what to say next. With the graduate students it was different. He was quiet and slow, but the force of intellect and imagination cast a spell around the seminar room. He never affected the airs and graces of a great professor. He dealt with students as equals. He was a humble fellow-seeker of enlightenment. To be on that basis with the most formidable mind in one's profession was a transforming experience.

In later years, the royalties from his father's book let him retire early. Ever attracted by Byzantium and by Italy, he took up residence in a villa at Grottaferrara in the Alban Hills, south of Rome. In a walled enclosure above the lovely town there was the thousand-year-old monastery of Saint Nilus. Byzantine chants were regularly sung, and a first class library supplied his professional needs. For some years, life was agreeable. Then afflictions increased, and the monks did what they could to lighten the burdens for "il professore." He died at seventy-nine and was buried in the Protestant cemetery of Rome, near the grave of Keats.

Kenneth Levy
Princeton University

TOUMANOFF, CYRIL (1913-1997)

ROBERT H. HEWSEN

Cyril Toumanoff and Byzantine Studies –"Death ends a life–not a relationship". Anonymous.

Prince Cyril Toumanoff, mentor, colleague and friend, died on February 5, 1997 in Rome at the age of eighty-three. One of the most distinguished Armenists and specialists in Caucasian Studies of our time and an accomplished Byzantinist as well, his landmark *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* (Georgetown, 1963), remains, even after the passage of over a third of a century, one of the seminal works in Caucasiology. Like the productions of Hübschmann, Markwart, Adontz, Manandian, Der Nersessian, Garsoïan, Hovannisian and the other pioneers in our field, his works, no matter how they may be superseded in the years to come, will always remain of value as the starting points for any future research in the areas with which they are concerned. Though best known for his work in Caucasian social history, Toumanoff, as noted above, was also a Byzantinist of no small achievement and his insights into Byzantine civilization were original and in many cases profound so much so that it is a pity that he did not write a book devoted to the subject, one that he had taught with such brilliance and perspicacity for nearly thirty years.

Cyril Leo Heraclius Toumanoff was born in Tbilisi, Georgia on 13 October 1913 just prior to the outbreak of the First World War, the only child of Prince Leo Constantinovich Toumanoff, the descendant of an old Armenian family long settled in Georgia. Through the Toumanoffs (Georgian: *Toumaniani* for the branch of the house that had remained true to the Armenian Church; *Toumanishvili* for the Greek Orthodox line), he was descended from an Armenian noble of the Mamikonian House, Prince Tuman, who, c.1250, migrated from the Cilician Armenian Kingdom to Georgia and there acquired the lordship of Kheltubani, an estate just north of the town of Gori. By the fourteenth century, the family had acquired

the hereditary protonotoryship of the kingdom of Georgia, an official secretarial position to the kings of Georgia held collectively by all male members of the house until the end of the Georgian monarchy.

Through his paternal great-grandmother, Salome Aghamalian, Toumanoff was descended from Sahak Aghamalian, the last Armenian Melik or Prince of Erevan (d.1834); through his mother, Elizabeth Zhdanova, he was descended from a number of Russian noble families and was connected to many noble houses of Western Europe. Despite the complexity of his background, however, his distinctly un-Armenian appearance and character, and his resolute avoidance of the Armenian Diaspora communities with which he knew he had nothing in common, Toumanoff never considered himself to be anything but an Armenian, taking enormous pride in the achievements of his ancestors and never ceasing to marvel at the survival of the Armenian people against so many odds.

Toumanoff's life was forever altered by the events of the First World War. His father, an officer in the Russian army, chose to fight with the anti-Communist "White" forces during the civil war that followed the Russian Revolution. True to their threat to take reprisals against the families of such officers, the Bolsheviks shot Toumanoff's mother before his eyes when he was less than five years old. Taken to his maternal grandparents in Astrakhan, he was carefully hidden for several years, kept at home by day and taken out only after dark. His grandfather, Andrei Zhdanov, a distinguished lawyer, was able to support the family only because the events of the Revolution had greatly complicated every aspect of law, and men skilled in legal theory and practice were in short supply. It was in this precarious ménage that Toumanoff was taught to read and write by his grandmother, mastered Classical and European languages and, through his grandfather's books, received a profound though completely informal education.

In 1928, Toumanoff's father, who had meantime reached America and with his knowledge of Russian had secured a position with the library at Harvard University, was able to get his son out of the Soviet Union. This was accomplished through the intercession of the wife of the author Maxim Gorky, who was visiting the United States

on behalf of the Soviet regime and who had been instructed to do whatever seemed necessary to improve the image of her country in American eyes. Cyril, barely fifteen years old, traveled to the New York via Prague and Paris, his luggage containing virtually nothing but family photographs given to him by his grandparents who had told him that anything else could be replaced.

In the United States, Toumanoff was entered into the Lennox School from which he graduated in 1931. From there he went to Harvard where his brilliance was early recognized by professors John Coddington and Robert P. Blake. Together, these scholars secured the necessary financing to enable the youth to journey to Brussels to study Armenology under Nicholas Adontz, and then to Berlin where he studied Georgian under Michael Tsereteli.

In 1938, Cyril Toumanoff returned to the United States and settled in Washington, D.C. Five years later, he completed his doctoral work at Georgetown University, where he secured a professorship immediately upon receiving his degree. As a student at Georgetown, he had come under the influence of Roman Catholicism eventually converting to that faith. Although this created a breach between himself and his father for some years, the two were reconciled at his father's deathbed in 1943. At Georgetown, Toumanoff taught a two-semester course in Russian History to 1914 and a four-semester series titled "The East Christian Middle Ages," under which term he led his students through a brilliant program that integrated Byzantine, Islamic and Medieval Western Civilizations into a dazzling tapestry. As a teacher, Toumanoff is remembered by his students as a gifted lecturer, whose caustic wit and marvelous turns of phrase filled their evenings with delight. An encyclopedic reader, who never seemed to have forgotten anything that he had ever read, Toumanoff was a mine of information on every aspect of the past, not only of Caucasia, Byzantium and Russia, but of the ancient, medieval, and Islamic worlds, and of the history of religion. In the latter field, he was most heavily influenced by the work of the Romanian scholar Mircea Eliade, and was one of the first to espouse his theories on the "sacred center" and the "myth of the eternal return," ideas which he

elaborated into his theory of the "Pagan Social Myth," published as a separate monograph in 1984.

After a series of major articles on Caucasian social history begun in 1943 and published in *Traditio* and *Le Muséon*, Cyril Toumanoff distinguished himself as a scholar of the first magnitude by the publication of his famed *Studies in Christian Caucasian History*, which placed him as the foremost among the few Caucasiologists then practicing in the West. A few years later, he demonstrated the breadth of his knowledge of every aspect of Caucasian history by writing a short but brilliant account of the history of Armenia and Georgia between their conversion to Christianity and the fall of the Cilician kingdom for the volume *Byzantium and its Neighbors* in the new *Cambridge Medieval History*.

In 1970, when still only 56, Professor Toumanoff retired from teaching and moved to Rome where, as a fully professed member of the Knights of St. John of Malta, he was granted a large and handsome apartment in the their palace on the via delle Carrozze in return for his services as their archivist. There he lived for the rest of his life in one of the most fashionable quarters of the city devoting himself to completing his *magnum opus* the *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie de la Caucasie chrétienne* (Rome, 1976), a vast compendium of genealogical charts of the royal and princely houses of Armenia, Georgia and Caucasian Albania, for which his original *Studies* published fifteen years earlier, had clearly been only a background study laying the historical and sociological foundations for the book which was to follow; a work which, when already advanced in years, he revised and republished under the title *Les dynasties de la Caucasie chrétienne de l'antiquité jusqu'au XIXe siècle* (Pavia, 1990). Both of these works, it should be noted, included full genealogies on all of the Byzantine dynasties and other houses that had Armenian connections. It was Toumanoff in his first article published in 1943, who identified the relationship between the Comneni who founded the Empire of Trebizond and their patron Queen Thamar the Great of Georgia, and it was he who identified the origin of the distinctly unchristian name of the Emperor Heraclius, which he showed was only a translation of the name of the Armenian

deity, Vahagn, always identified by the Armenians with Hercules just as Justinian's name was a translation of the Slavonic word for justice.

Toumanoff had visited Rome almost every summer for many years before settling there, its religious significance, classical associations and brilliant society providing him with the atmosphere most congenial to a man of his background. Surrounded by his books and his beloved family photographs brought from Russia, Fra Toumanoff divided his time between his religious devotions, his work for his order, both as archivist and Grand Prior of Bohemia, his copious correspondence and a most active social life. With his princely dignity recognized by the Roman nobility and his mastery of Italian much appreciated, he was in great demand, and everywhere his graciousness, his charm and his vast knowledge on a broad spectrum of subjects was an endless delight to hosts and guests alike. He knew the background and present situation of every noble house in Europe and, far from being a "walking *Almanach de Gotha,*" he could point with amusement to the errors that it contained. Indeed, he agreed with the wit who once said that *Burke's Peerage* was the best work of fiction that the English had ever produced. In Italy, pretenders to non-existent titles gave Toumanoff a wide berth and he was frequently consulted by various people who, for one reason or another, were attempting to determine the legitimacy of various claims to noble origin.

When the Soviet Union began to permit Jews to leave the country, many of the émigrés passed through Rome, and those who were unwell were often admitted to the Hospital of the Knights of Malta, which is one of the best in Rome. There Toumanoff did much volunteer work as an interpreter, without whose services Russian-speaking patients would have been unable to describe their symptoms. Not only was his Russian (and English) perfect, but he spoke excellent Italian and, of course, the St. Petersburg French that he had learned as a child. Greek, Latin and German he read as a matter of course. Though he spoke neither Georgian nor Armenian, he read them with ease in both their classical and modern forms.

When deep in his seventies, Toumanoff, encouraged by former students and colleagues alike, began to contemplate a revision of his *Studies* to take into account the vast amount of work done in Armenia and the West since the first publication of the work. By the early '90's, however, it was clear that he had begun to fail though he remained actively engaged in his researches, which gave him the greatest pleasure, and still rejoiced in the regular visits of friends and colleagues, and in the invitations to social affairs in Rome that continued to fill his mail. His last years were enormously brightened by the collapse of the Communist world which he detested for the harm it had brought to so many millions of helpless and innocent people, among whom he must have surely counted not only his mother, but also himself. He was always kind; always generous, and he could not understand nor cope with cruelty in any form. The inhumanity of man to man evidenced in history and so horribly manifest in his own lifetime, pained him greatly and to a great extent was the reason why he had turned to the religious life.

Toumanoff's views on the development of Byzantine civilization were idiosyncratic and I have not seen them expressed elsewhere in the same terms. In his view, the Roman Empire represented the culmination of what the entire Mediterranean world had been moving towards since the appearance of the first truly international civilization forged by the Assyrians in the ninth century B.C. In particular, he was impressed by the accumulation and blending of the various elements of each civilization as it succeeded the other, always including ever vaster geographical areas and drawing more and more peoples, cultures and civilizations into the mix: the Persian Empire, Alexander's Empire, the succeeding Hellenistic World, and finally, what Suetonius called "the awesome majesty of the Roman Peace." With Byzantium, however, Toumanoff saw a regression; a movement backwards in time and in cultural development that passed through four stages.

At first, according to Toumanoff, Byzantine civilization began as a Christianization of the Roman Civilization of the pan-Mediterranean world. But, after the loss of the western, most Roman, half of the empire in 476, he felt that this civilization began to slip backwards to

a second, earlier stage, that of the Hellenistic Civilization centered in the eastern Mediterranean launched by Alexander the Great - christianized to be sure but as if the Roman Empire had never existed.

Then, third, in the period following the death of Justinian in 565 till 1071, he saw the empire gradually retreat, losing its non-Greek territories to become, after the disaster of Manzikert, no longer an international, multi-ethnic empire but simply a monoethnic Greek state, one of many states in the increasingly fragmented Middle East - as if Alexander, himself, had never lived.

Finally, he saw the empire in its last two centuries shrivel to the status of a Greek city-state, as if Philip of Macedon had never lived, and he asked that we not be surprised that the reduced city-state of Constantinople would, like the Greek cities before it, form alliances with other city-states such as Genoa and Venice.

In the same way, Toumanoff saw the religious history of the Empire pass through three equally regressive stages, the Byzantine Church passing from a full participant in the Universal Church after 313, to its retreat to an exclusive, imperial church after 1054, and finally, as the Empire disintegrated, to its breakup into several Orthodox churches based on ethnicity, which Toumanoff likened to the primitivism of an earlier stage of tribal cults.

As a Byzantinist, Toumanoff was fascinated by the manner in which Byzantium existed as a link between the Ancient World and the Medieval West, as well as by what he considered to have been its survival in both Tsarist and Soviet Russia. To Toumanoff, Byzantium remained a distinct civilization of its own that drew its essence from three sources: the Roman Empire, ancient Greece and the many-faceted and multi-layered civilizations that overlay one another in the Middle East beneath the Greco-Roman surface. To his mind, it was the subtle and not so subtle interplay between these three sources that had created the Byzantine civilization and that served as the dynamic by which it evolved. While some historians have downplayed the impact of Byzantium upon Russia, Toumanoff followed those who believed, not only that the Byzantine civilization was the key to understanding Russia, but that Russia had no true civilization of its own and only represented the survival of Byzantine

Civilization in the post-Byzantine world. Toumanoff saw Russia, tsarist and soviet, as being unfalteringly Byzantine in all of its essentials: its lofty self-conception, its self-aggrandizing egoism, its concern for ideological purity, its intolerance of deviation, its near implacable xenophobia, its attempt to control the economy—even before communism, and its conviction that an empire was absolutely necessary to the survival of its civilization. Above all, he recognized that the highest value of both Byzantium and Russia were essentially the same: obedience to legitimate authority. In the Byzantine and tsarist cases, this would mean to the authority of God and his representatives on earth, the divinely ordained church and equally ordained state, and in the third, soviet case to the authority of scientific Marxism and its representative on earth, the all-holy Communist Party, which simply replaced the Orthodox Church as the source of salvation.

To Toumanoff, however, if Russia represented the continuation of Byzantine civilization it did so only in a barbarized form. Recalling that in nurturing the newly-Christianized Kievan state, Byzantium had carefully exported its religious culture while adroitly witholding its secular learning, he interpreted Tsarist Russia as the mere ghost of Byzantium. He accepted my suggestion that the Soviet Union under Stalin, though it claimed to have created a civilization of its own, was really but the vampire of the Byzantine world and he agreed that, under Brezhnev, it had become perhaps its mummy.

Cyril Toumanoff was particularly fascinated by the Caucasian impact upon the Byzantine world. He was appalled by Ostrogorsky's almost total neglect of the East in his famed history, *The Byzantine State*, and when Peter Charanis published his monograph on the Armenians in the Byzantine Empire, Toumanoff quickly followed it with a review article that corrected Charanis' work and expanded upon the same theme. Noting the iconoclasm of the Byzantine army, he associated this with the fact that the military contained so many Armenian officers and men coming from a Christian land where icons were unknown. Again, noting the growing emphasis on dynastic legitimacy as increasing numbers Armenians rose to the throne, itself, as well as to the highest ranks of the army and the court, he

associated this with the fact that the Armenians originated in a land where hereditary princely rank and dynastic rights were not only taken for granted but were the major factors in the socio-political landscape.

Cyril Toumanoff's major research was concerned precisely with the social history of the South Caucasian countries and their relations with the Byzantine Empire, a world that differed from them in every way but with which they were forced to deal for a thousand years; his period was that of the ancient and medieval world and he normally did not pursue his investigations beyond the fall of the Cilician Armenian kingdom in 1375. His great contribution to the field was his analysis of the social structure of the Caucasian states and his identification of the struggle between first, the feudal system, in which society was characterized by diffusion of power among a number of coeval and coequal nobiliary houses, and second, what he called "dynasticism," which he defined as the tendency of the kings to attempt to impose upon the feudal structure, which had preceded the existence of the monarchy, their own power to determine what rights would exist in the land; i.e. the attempt of the kings to take the hereditary rights of the nobility and to reduce them to privileges granted by the crown.

To Toumanoff, any attempt to describe Caucasian society simply as being feudal or to see it as being governed by a simple monarchical system under the rule of its kings—Armenian, Georgian or Albanian—was to miss completely the true dynamic of Caucasian society which was centered around the great struggle between two opposed systems that were fundamentally incompatible. It was in this struggle between the feudal aristocracy and the dynastic kings, that Toumanoff believed lay the secret for the understanding of much that had otherwise been obscure in Caucasian history. Drawing upon the work of Adontz, which he essentially rewrote and refined, and that of Khéroumian, which he felt had been much neglected, Toumanoff did more than anyone else to bring the study of ancient and medieval Armenia into the mid-twentieth century. His recognition of the essential identity of the societies—the very civilization—of Armenia, Georgia and Albania, set aside all exclusionary tendencies in his

work and his insistence on the essential uniformity of Caucasian society stands in marked contrast to the bogus "sisterhood" of the Caucasian peoples manufactured in Moscow during the Soviet period.

But even more than this, Toumanoff will be remembered for something else that he learned at the feet of Adontz: his sincere belief that nationalism and scholarship are fundamentally incompatible and that the greatest service that any scholar can offer his people is the pursuit of pure scholarship in regard to the national past. As Toumanoff often said, the achievements of the Armenian and the Georgian peoples stand on their own; they do not need the myths and fantasies of well-intentioned patriots, whose falsification of historical fact to suit present-day nationalist aspirations only suggests that their case is too weak to stand on its own. Never partisan, he rendered to the Armenians what belonged to the Armenians and to the Georgians what he felt was their own—and in so doing, of course, inevitably dissatisfied both. Ultimately, however, Toumanoff, in a very personal way, was a true patriot, one who cared for the Armenian and Georgian peoples and who rendered to both of them a lifetime of service.

Robert H. Hewsen
Rowan University of New Jersey

VASILIEV, ALEXANDER ALEXANDROVICH (1867-1953)

JOHN W. BARKER

Vasiliev in Madison

The importance of A. A. Vasiliev is obvious to anyone who studies any area of Byzantine history. His early mastery of Greek, Latin, and Arabic allowed him a lifelong range of scholarly address that matched his wide interest in travel and diverse cultures. His early two-volume magnum opus, *Byzantium and the Arabs*, published initially in Russian (1900-01) was eventually issued in French as *Byzance et les Arabs* (1935-50). During his American years, he went on to produce a series of important monographs: *The Goths in the Crimea* (Mediaeval Academy, 1936); *The Russian Attack on Constantinople in 960* (Mediaeval Academy, 1946); and *Justin the First. An Introduction to the Epoch of Justinian the Great* (Dumbarton Oaks, 1950), which won the Mediaeval Academy's Haskins Medal. Above all, there was his landmark *History of the Byzantine Empire*, which evolved out of Russian publications of his course lectures, appeared first in English translation in 2 volumes (1928-29), proceeding through translations in French (from the Russian: 2 vols., 1932), in Turkish (from the French: 1943), in Spanish (from the French: 2 vols., 1946), and in Modern Greek (from 2nd English edition: 3 vols, 1954-55), but which reached its definitive form in its fully rewritten second English edition of 1952. Even with the publication of Ostrogorsky's classic *History of the Byzantine State* in its own successive German and English editions, Vasiliev's *History* has stood as one of the most important one-volume syntheses of the subject ever achieved. Now as a two-volume paperback, it remains in print and in use.

At the time of his death, Vasiliev was still planning ambitious projects he was unable to achieve: a study in the socio-economic order of the Roman Empire in the third and fourth centuries (probably identical with a project he described as "The Reign of Diocletian"); a history of the Empire of Trebizond; studies of the Arabs in the seventh century and in the pre-Islamic era; and, along

the way, an autobiography. Amid all the major works, completed or planned, Vasiliev poured out a steady flow of shorter publications, from early textbooks to scholarly articles on an amazing range of subjects. In a comprehensive Vasiliev bibliography appended to Sirarpie Der Nersessian's tribute to Vasiliev, published in the *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* in 1956, there are 32 books listed, plus 89 "Articles and Notes," and 79 reviews and obituaries.

Der Nersessian based her 1956 necrology on a deposit of Vasiliev's papers (personal jottings, correspondence, etc.) preserved in several large file cartons at Dumbarton Oaks, where he spent his last year; the deposit including notes and sketches for projected memoirs. [See Appendix I below.] Another, earlier deposit is to be found at the University of Wisconsin in Madison, on whose faculty Vasiliev served for fourteen years. This deposit consists of seven large file boxes stuffed mainly with letters written during the years 1925-35 to Vasiliev, which he saved meticulously, down to retaining them folded in their original envelopes. There are some other materials, to which may also be added his personnel files in the University's archives. Finally, there are numerous anecdotes and memories of Vasiliev that lingered on after his departure, and long enough to be told to me after my arrival in Madison a quarter-century later, in 1962.

It is upon all these resources that I wish to draw in what follows. A full biography is, of course, not feasible here, nor is a concentration on his scholarly work necessary by now. But these resources allow a provisional sketch, focused especially on his years in Madison where he held his only teaching position in the U.S.A.

Alexander Alexandrovich Vasiliev was born on October 5, 1867 (by the Western calendar; officially on September 22, 1867, "old style") in St. Petersburg, where he spent part of his childhood, steeped in music, a lifelong love of his to which he almost chose to devote himself as a career. He eventually pursued his education, and his studies in Byzantine history--almost accidentally initiated--with V. G. Vasilievsky, at St. Petersburg University during 1887-92, receiving his doctorate in 1902 at age thirty-five. After teaching Latin and Greek at St. Petersburg's first gymnasium for five years

(1892-97), he had his initiation into another of his lifelong loves, travel, during a self-described "mission abroad" covering France, England, Austria, Germany, Turkey, and Greece. He returning to St. Petersburg's gymnasium to teach history for another four years (1900-04), and then spent eight years (1904-12) as Professor of Modern History at the University of Dorpat in Russian Estonia. Back in St. Petersburg, he held the posts of Professor and Dean of the Pedagogical Institute for Women for the next ten years (1912-22), while becoming in 1917 a Professor at the University of St. Petersburg. It was during this first quarter-century of his career that Vasiliev produced his pioneering work on Byzantium and the Arabs, in its original Russian form, plus a textbook on medieval history, and his initial published lectures on Byzantine history.

Vasiliev rarely expressed himself formally or publicly on the events of his own time that swirled around him through his life; perhaps only an exhaustive study of what survives of his correspondence may glean some of his private thoughts. Thus, we know little of his feelings about what he called "the Great War and the Revolution." But he described that as a decade of "seclusion" from which he was briefly released for a journey to Germany and France in the summer of 1924. When, the following year, he was allowed "by an absolute miracle" to leave St. Petersburg for a visit to France, it proved his definitive departure from his homeland, to his new life in the U.S.A. He left behind his old life and family ties, and was accordingly treated as a defector. I have heard that, years later, Steven Runciman purchased an order of books from a Soviet agency and found among them, when they arrived, items from Vasiliev's confiscated library.

It was, meanwhile, another network of chances that brought Vasiliev to Madison. While in Paris in the summer of 1924, he met his old friend and colleague, Michael I. Rostovtzeff, who had left Russia in 1918. Since 1920, Rostovtzeff had been Professor of Ancient History at the University of Wisconsin, but he was planning, after one more year there, to move on to his final post at Yale University. A joking suggestion that Vasiliev might succeed him in Madison turned into a serious proposal, which Rostovtzeff pursued

in earnest back in Wisconsin that autumn. Vasiliev's personnel file preserves Rostovtzeff's formal letter to Dean George C. Sellery, dated November 4, 1924, recommending Vasiliev's appointment and describing him thus:

> ...socially he is a very pleasant man, an excellent musician, a man with a wide knowledge both of Europe and the Near East (he spent some years in Constantinople). Besides he visited the U.S.A. and Australia... I think that Vassilieff might be very useful to the University of Wisconsin both as a year's professor and as a permanent member of the staff. His knowledge of English is good and he will have no difficulties in making himself understood by the students...

On December 17, 1924, Dean Sellery recommended Vasiliev's appointment in medieval history for a year, with no promise of any extension, and with a salary of $4,000, plus $500 for his travel and moving expenses. The possibility of an invitation to Madison was conveyed obliquely to Vasiliev after Christmas, but only in June of 1925, after his arrival in Paris, did he receive a cable from History Department Chairman Carl Russell Fish informing him of his appointment; and, that very afternoon, another Wisconsin History Professor, Frederic L. Paxton, arrived at his rooms to greet him in person. Vasiliev sailed for New York in August and, after a brief stay with Rostovtzeff at Princeton, he went on to Madison. He arrived there on September 15, 1925, a week before his ("old style") fifty-eighth birthday. With an already full life behind him, he was of an age at which many men might consider their careers as nearing completion. For him, it was a new beginning, and the climax of what he describes as "the most wonderful story I had ever experienced in my life."

The Wisconsin History Department already had two distinguished medievalists on its staff--Eugene H. Byrne and Carl Stephenson--and Vasiliev's responsibilities were clearly defined as taking over Rostovtzeff's functions in Ancient History. It had been projected that Vasiliev should teach the one-year survey of Ancient history (History 10), a one-year course in the History of Byzantium and the Arabs (History 135), another course (History 148) on the History of

Modern Oriental Europe, "and probably a seminary"--as seminars were called--for a total of 6-8 hours weekly teaching. In actuality, Vasiliev taught only three courses each of the two semesters of 1925-26, without the "Oriental Europe" course.

Vasiliev apparently carried out his assignments with care and devotion, though one flap developed early on about questions of his intelligibility as a lecturer. On October 23, Undergraduate Dean Frederick Roe wrote to History Department Chairman Fish reporting that some freshmen in the large-lecture Ancient History course (History 10) had complained that they could not understand Vasiliev. Roe expressed the hope that the professor's English would approve, adding that he was "not giving the freshmen any comfort, but telling them to listen carefully and make the best of the situation." Roe wrote another letter to Fish five days later, conveying reports of disorders made by students in the class:

> They are restless and rude and laugh out loud at mistakes in language which the lecturer makes and so cause considerable disorder...

Roe concedes that Vasiliev had no staff help in the course at the time, and went on to observe:

> ...possibly he is not yet sufficiently acquainted with the mischievous tendencies of American students to take advantage of an instructor when they think they can.

Fish saw to it that the matter was investigated. A member of the staff, Maud Mendenhall, reported that she had checked up on the class: it was true that there some restlessness during a slide lecture, but there was nothing serious to worry about. On October 31, Chairman Fish wrote to Dean Roe on the basis of this and some further reassurances:

> I understand that Professor Vasiliev has general tokens of approval in the class, not only being greeted by a sky-rocket but occasionally receiving applause, which is more unusual... My impression, however, is that we are having much less trouble than we had five years ago, when Rostovtzeff first came.

The issue arose again when, on January 20, at the end of the first semester, Dean Roe reported to Fish some further complaints from students who could not understand Vasiliev; though he added that he had responses from others indicating that no such problem existed. Fish responded on January 26 that there was no confirmation of these complaints and he suggested that they represented simply the grouching of students who had failed the course. The matter was raised again in a complaint of February 2, but seems to have been laid to rest thereafter. Though an odd reference or two occurs in the files thereafter as to the state of Vasiliev's English, he seems to have become increasingly comfortable in it over his American years: most of his major publications thereafter were in English; he wrote materials for himself in English, and his letters in English are confident and idiomatic, in a sturdy and very clear handwriting. The student objections mentioned might actually derive from a Midwestern American provincialism that up until recently has regarded even natives of other parts of the U.S.A. as foreigners.

Meanwhile, the question of Vasiliev's future was being resolved. Understanding that his appointment in Madison was only for one year, and knowing that a return to St. Petersburg was out of the question, Vasiliev wasted no time in investigating opportunities for a new post. There are hints of hope at Columbia University in New York, of which little is documented. But two possibilities back across the ocean particularly attracted him. One was at the Université Egyptienne in Cairo, whose dean was his friend, the eminent Henri Grégoire. The other was at King's College of the University of London, which was advertising for someone to succeed Arnold Toynbee in the Koraës Chair of Modern Greek and Byzantine History, Language, & Literature. Presumably at Vasiliev's request, History Chairman Fish sent letters of endorsement to two professors at London University, written on the same date, January 27, 1926. In the letter to A. F. Pollard, Fish commented that "Vasiliev has inspired a strong affection in us all here." Fish was even more expansive and illuminating in his recommendation to Ernest Barker:

> In personality he is charming, a musician, with an attractive and sensitive

temperament and exceptional sweetness of character, and totally unembittered by his Russian experience, with regard to which he maintains an attitude of detached observation.

His English is very good. He has been conducting here a class of 350 freshman students with very slight complaint. Personally, I wish he would not read his lectures--if he spoke them, I think there could be no possible complaint; but there is no doubt of his actual effectiveness at present.

He is, withal, a man of distinction, quite obviously a scholar of the first rank, with all the simplicity one hopes for but does not always find in such cases.

I am quite disinterested in writing this letter, for I am not sure that we may not be able to use him here, which would give great joy to all our Department. Although he has been with us such a short time, his going would undoubtedly be a severe wrench.

The uncertainty in Madison was clarified in a month, however, and on March 4, 1926, Fish wrote to Dean Sellery to report the recommendation of a permanent appointment for Vasiliev as full Professor of History, at a salary of $4,500. On the same date, Fish wrote to Grégoire, to explain that Vasiliev was rejecting the latter's invitation to Cairo, as well as one to Columbia--both at higher salaries--because of the continuing appointment now offered to him at Wisconsin, requiring his full residence. Fish also added the observation that Vasiliev was adjusting well to the language requirements of his teaching at Wisconsin.

Vasiliev settled into his post in Madison for the next twelve years. He had two leaves of absence: in the spring semester of 1934, and for the academic year of 1935-36, the first time a research leave with full salary support, the second time to teach for the year at Columbia University. In all, he taught at the University of Wisconsin for eleven and a half years, or for twenty-three regular semesters. Though Wisconsin had developed an unusually active Summer School program, Vasiliev never taught in the summer, apparently by advance understanding; though he does seem to have had a summer residence grant in 1931. His salary, set in 1926 at $4,500--a good one in those pre-inflationary days--remained fixed at that sum

officially for the rest of his Madison tenure. As were all the faculty during the Depression impact, however, he was obliged to submit to a "waiver" of various percentages from 1932 onward, adjusting his actual pay to $4,050, then $3,735, finally $4,250.

In his thirteen years of teaching at Madison, Vasiliev developed a repertoire of no more than five courses. At one end of the spectrum was his staple, History 10, year-long survey of Ancient History, which he taught during every year of his service; including the fall of 1933, when its second semester was taken over by a temporary replacement during his leave. At the other end was his "seminary" or seminar in Ancient History, History 254, which he also gave every semester of his time in Madison. Its subject matter would have varied, and cannot be documented now, but presumably would have included topics in Late Ancient and in Byzantine history, as appropriate to participants.

In between were his three advanced courses. Not surprisingly, his greatest loyalty was to Byzantine History. The University of Wisconsin at Madison was very much a frontier as to this subject, and Vasiliev had his precedents set not only by Rostovtzeff but, before him, by William L. Westermann, who had extended their treatment of the Hellenistic era into some course work on Byzantium. During his own tenure at Wisconsin, Vasiliev was one of the very few people to teach the subject in an American university. Vasiliev treated it as a two-semester course, History 135 (in which form I myself found it when I took it over in 1962). It was called variously "History of Byzantium and the Arabs" (1925-26), "History of the Byzantine Empire" (1926-27), "History of the Later Roman Empire" (1928-29, 1930-31), and "Byzantine Civilization" (1936-37, 1937-38); in years when he taught only a semester of the course, it would be called "The Fall of Byzantium" (1927-28, 1929-30 [as History 129]), or simply "History of the Later Roman Empire" (1934-35). It was not, however, a consistent offering in all years: he gave only one semester of it in 1927-28 and in 1934-35, and he bypassed it completely in 1931-32, 1932-33, and 1933-34.

Trailing his Byzantine course, if only at a slight distance, was his revival of Rostovtzeff's course "Hellenistic Civilization" (History

127). Vasiliev first taught it as a one-semester course in the fall semester of 1927-28, then at two-year intervals in the autumns of 1929-30 and 1931-32; from then on, he gave it in the first semester of each remaining year, except for the one he was on leave. He would balance this at first (1927-28, 1929-30), and later (1934-35) with a one-semester Byzantine course as the corresponding item in the spring. But, in the spring of 1932 he developed a new single-semester course called "Life and Work in Ancient Rome" (History 126), which he used frequently thereafter as the spring partner to the Hellenistic course (1932-33, 1936-37, 1937-38). In his last two years at Madison, however, his faculty was required to expand from three to four courses each semester, so that for those two years all five of Vasiliev's courses were in play, the juxtaposed Hellenistic and Rome courses as well as the full Byzantine year.

Such enrollment figures as are available suggest a generally positive student response to Vasiliev. At its peak, his History 10 Ancient survey could draw well over three hundred, exceeded only at times by the Medieval survey taught by Byrne and Stephenson, and then by Byrne's student and successor, Robert Reynolds; not to mention courses in U.S. History and other modernist heresies. At first he lectured in one of the larger halls (165 Bascom). It suffered a decline in numbers in the early 1930s, not unlike many other courses, though sometimes moreso, getting as low as 30s in 1932-33 and the 50s by 1934-35. (When it was taken over by the new young medievalist, Gaines Post, in Vasiliev's 1935-36 offering, it declined even more into the 40s.) But it resumed vigor and large-hall status in his last two years, returning to the 200s. In 1932 he was granted a teaching assistant to help him with History 10, freeing him more to attend to his advanced courses. The first of these assistants was Peter Charanis, his new graduate student, and to be his only Ph.D. in Byzantine history.

Vasiliev's advanced courses regularly averaged enrollments in the 30s: the Hellenistic course could draw as high as the 60s, and Byzantium could sink as low as the teens. (But, when Post expanded the "Life and Work in Ancient Rome" course into two full semesters during Vasiliev's 1935-36 absence, he sank well under

10.) In Vasiliev's "seminary" in Ancient History, he drew anywhere from three to five graduate students.

Many still alive can recall impressions of Vasiliev's teaching style. I have heard that he would devote the first few sessions of his Byzantine course to analysis of a number of source texts and authors, finally concluding (with a straight face): "None of which still exist!" Another observer recalls meeting him in the halls at the end of a spring semester, when he had given his last lecture in his Byzantine history course: noting his agitated and unhappy look, the observer asked if all was well, to which Vasiliev replied in genuine anguish, "Byzantium has fallen!"

Beyond the classroom, Vasiliev was canny enough to pretend vast incompetence and unreliability in practical matters, thus avoiding a lot of committee assignments and other distracting obligations. On the other hand, a gentle man, Vasiliev could be intimidated, in at least one case by one of those dragon-lady departmental secretaries that were a familiar breed in academic offices. This one, the formidable Helena B. Leute, was for forty-six years secretary to the History Department. One of Vasiliev's younger colleagues recalled the old Russian professor stealing up to him in the hall, sheepishly revealing that he was late submitting his final grades, and asking if the younger man would deliver them for him to the intimidating Miss Leute. In fact, the files include some cordial correspondence between them, Miss Leute at one point being charmed by a postcard Vasiliev sent her from Europe.

Letters and reminiscences also reveal Vasiliev's great capacity for warmth in his dealings with students and colleagues. Peter Charanis has recalled that, as Vasiliev's student and assistant, he never felt much closeness or rapport with his mentor in their joint Madison days; but that, in later years, as an established academic himself, Charanis could find more relaxed intimacy and familiarity with him at Dumbarton Oaks. Nevertheless, Vasiliev's correspondence is full of letters from former students who demonstrate their respect and deep affection for him years after their study with him.

Famous for never missing a class, Vasiliev had a sturdy constitution: until a cataract operation late in his life, illness was

virtually unknown to him; he joked that he could not understand what a headache might be. He was a boundlessly energetic and even exuberant person, delighting in food and drink, especially of high quality. Gaines Post told me that when arriving as a new faculty member at the University of Wisconsin, he was taken to lunch by Vasiliev and then invited for a glass of wine in the latter's residence rooms in The University Club at 803 State Street, opposite the Library. Post thought "a glass" would be a genteel thimble-full, but found Vasiliev producing jelly-glasses of madeira. After two brim-full bumpers apiece, Vasiliev stood up, slapped his chest, and announced: "Back to work!" and was last seen pulling his latest manuscript out of the desk drawer while the newcomer staggered off home to sleep off the wine.

At a later date, Peter Charanis and his wife decided to entertain his former master in their New Brunswick home when Vasiliev was on the east coast. Madeleine Charanis was expecting their first child imminently, but she gamely prepared a generous meal of a good-sized roast, lots of potatoes and vegetables, and a bottle of good wine. Peter and Madeleine each had a serving of meat and vegetables, a potato each, and a glass of wine: Vasiliev consumed all the remaining meat, potatoes, vegetables, and wine himself. The meal over, he announced that they were all going for a walk, which he led at a brisk pace. The next day, Madeleine gave birth to a daughter, who proved a feisty tribute to her parents and doubtless owed something of her spunk to that ultimate prenatal stimulation. But, several years later, when the Charanises were expecting their second child, and were in turn with Vasiliev at Dumbarton Oaks, Vasiliev took Madeleine through the gardens there for another brisk walk. And, lo! again on the next day she gave birth, this time to a son. When she subsequently pointed out to Vasiliev that both nativities had come to pass on the same date of the same month in their respective years, Vasiliev was incredulous.

Gregarious and sociable, Vasiliev moved widely in many circles, both on and off the campus. He was popular among a number of extra-curricular organizations, such as the University's French House community. One of the French Department's faculty members was

Julian Harris, with whom, and with Harris's wife, Elizabeth Marshall Harris, Vasiliev developed a strong tie. She herself was a fine sculptress, and about 1935 she created a life-sized portrait-head of Vasiliev in bronze, which is now in the possession of the Wisconsin History Department.

But Vasiliev enjoyed meeting people beyond academic life, and he made friends of diverse backgrounds. For many years, it was his practice to book passage on the first trip of one of the Mississippi river-boats when it began its spring season between St. Louis and New Orleans, celebrating the first night on board by dancing with the captain's wife (or mother, according to some accounts). A lifelong bachelor, he was, as one of his familiars has remarked, "by no means a misogynist"--an elegantly diplomatic understatement. He was much sought after as a guest at dinner parties. One such occasion provides the archetypal absent-minded professor story. One day Vasiliev was checking back in his appointment book: this was a meticulously kept document, and Vasiliev was famous for making distinctions, when accepting commitments, between the more casual or uncertain "pencil date" as against the firm and definite "pen date." This time, however, he noticed that, some evenings before, he had been invited to a party, given by one of Madison's leading hostesses, at which he was to have been the guest of honor. He had completely forgotten about it, and he realized he had to make his apologies. Calling the lady, he launched into profuse and unceasing expressions of embarrassment and regret until finally, as he paused for breath, she interjected: "But Professor, you were there!"

Vasiliev's deepening love for Madison and his life there extended into a commitment to America in general, and on February 16, 1931, after due preparation, Vasiliev was sworn in by a Dane County Circuit Court judge as a U.S. citizen. For the rest of his life, he proudly affirmed his American identity, while quietly professing himself politically a Democrat, if pressed. Some fine points of American civilization and patois took time to assimilate, however. Don Anderson, eventual Publisher of the Wisconsin State Journal, recalled encountering Vasiliev peering at a poster announcing an

evening's entertainment by some student groups who promised that they would "put on a take-off." Vasiliev was baffled by this phrase, which was explained to him as presenting a satire or spoof or burlesque. "Ah, burlesque!" he exclaimed: "This I know!"

Yet, behind the merry façade could linger that sadness, indeed anguish, which has been particularly characteristic of the Russian exile. Peter Charanis told me that, whenever Vasiliev visited Paris, he would go to a certain bench in a certain park, and sit there in solitary meditation. Charanis also says that Vasiliev tried to maintain contact with a sister he had left behind after his departure from Russia in 1925 and was never to see again. They would arrange that, at an agreed hour on an agreed day, she would go as close as she could get to the border at one point on the Soviet frontier and he would be at a corresponding place on the outside, such distant proximity as much of a reunion as they would ever have.

Perhaps the strongest thread in the fabric of Vasiliev's social life in Madison was music. He often stated that he loved music even more than the history of Byzantium and, together with travel, it had been an essential and sustaining element of his life. Vasiliev had begun piano lessons at age five, had even studied conducting, and had developed an early flair for both performing and composing. He put on private musicales and became particularly devoted to opera. In his Russian years, he would play through operatic scores and songs, both himself and joined by students and friends in regular Saturday evening soirées at the St. Petersburg Gymnasium. He continued such practices in Madison, gathering friends at the University Club or at friends' homes, playing and singing with a splendor of volume that would often prompt complaints from the neighbors. This passion extended to his final days at Dumbarton Oaks, where the sitting-room of the Fellows Building was reserved every Saturday afternoon during the season for the radio broadcasts of the Metropolitan Opera.

His tastes, though by no means limited to Russian repertoire, were said to have been emphatically nineteenth-century: he is reported to have scorned Mozart's operas--"They all sound alike!" In

a newspaper interview of 1937, he confessed that his favorite composers were Wagner and Tchaikovsky, and that his favorite opera was *Die Meistersinger*. But the operas of his homeland could carry special and unexpected potency. Don Anderson told me of attending a party where Vasiliev was a guest and where the host, after dinner, pulled out a new album of records he had just obtained, one he was sure Vasiliev would enjoy. It was music from Borodin's opera *Prince Igor*. The host was unprepared for the torrent of joy and tears it evoked from Vasiliev: he had attended its premiere performances in 1890, and for him this was a burning reminder of his Russian roots. [See Appendix II below.]

But Vasiliev's musical activities in Madison could take creative turns. He composed some Russian songs, and he also experimented with a nineteenth-century idiom known as "melodrama," involving spoken declamation keyed to played music. He undertook at least two such treatments, the first of passages by Turgenev, which he himself played in collaboration with another friend in the French Department, Prof. C. F. Gillen. The apparent premiere of the work was given in a public performance in the University's Music Hall on the evening of May 19, 1926. The mimeographed announcement for the event gives the following information:

> Professor A. A. Vasiliev of the History Department and Professor C. F. Gillen of the French Department will introduce to the public an original musical monologue still in manuscript form. The music is one of Professor Vasiliev's own compositions and is played on the piano by him while Professor Gillen reads the words which are adapted from Turgenev's "A Few Leaves from the Diary of a Dead Author". The number is in eight short sections, and all together constitutes a colorful interpretation of Russia.

A fifty-cent admission was charged, proceeds going to the senior class's contribution to the University's carillon.

This composition was presented again, eight years later, paired with Vasiliev's second venture into the idiom, using poetry by Tennyson. Two performances were organized, the first on the evening of November 2, 1934, in Music Hall again, as a benefit for the Student Loan Fund. The mimeographed announcement stated:

The Vasiliev-Gillen recital, given some years ago, left a very pleasant memory. Many requests have been made for a repetition. Now, because of the great need of many students, Professor Vasiliev and Professor Gillen are appearing in aid of the Loan Fund.

The announcement identified the pieces as "Musical Monologues", and went on to say of them:

Professor Vasiliev's music for Turgenev's prose poem and Tennyson's *Lady of Shalott* has been praised by musicians. As the music is still in manuscript, this recital is the only means of hearing these beautiful compositions.

General admission was again fifty cents; seventy-five for the reserved section; program listing as Patrons for those who contribute more. [See Appendix III below.] A repetition of this program, described as "two charming musical monologues," augmented by an array of German Lieder, was presented in a private home concert on December 12, as a benefit for a committee on behalf of French art, by invitation only. Meanwhile, a program survives for a "Musical Reading Recital" on an October 13 of a year not indicated, an event presented by the Wisconsin Union in the Bascom Theater, as a benefit for the Memorial Union's Music and Art Room. In this program, Gillen and Vasiliev performed only the Turgenev "Leaves" piece, proceeded by three short Russian piano pieces (two by Borodin, one by Cui), played by Vasiliev.

There are other reports of such musicales of poetry with music among his gatherings of friends at the University Club. One account tells of a professor in the audience who fell asleep and then awoke with a start and a belch. Vasiliev immediately improvised some piano figurations to amplify and embellish this obbligato effect. Little more is heard of Vasiliev's compositions, however, and their fate would be worth investigation, though their character tempts speculation. Given Vasiliev's skills as an improviser, and considering the fluid nature of the melodrama as a musical form, one might wonder if Vasiliev's compositions in that idiom were never written down in final form, but were ideas retained in his mind to be

manipulated freely in his actual performances. But the announcement does refer to the music as being "in manuscript". Neither the Madison or Washington files of Vasiliev's papers, however, includes a trace of these or any other actual compositions by Vasiliev. Both their survival and their written existence in the first place therefore remain enigmatic and await further possible discoveries.

On a scale rare in our time, Professor Vasiliev's activities and honors were a subject of attention by the local Madison newspapers, which several times, mainly in the mid-1930s, noted his research activities, or awards or distinctions accorded him--such as the honorary doctorate given him by the University of Athens in 1937, and other celebrations of his seventieth birthday. Likewise noted was his later departure for residence at Dumbarton Oaks, in 1944.

Nor did his Madison colleagues fail to show pride in him.

The files preserve a letter dated September 24, 1932, in which the new History Department chairman, Paul Knaplund, wrote to the editors of *Who's Who in America* to protest indignantly the omission from their listings of so distinguished an individual as Professor Vasiliev. In his travels, he enjoyed dropping cards or letters to his colleagues at home, while also joining them abroad when he could. In a charming letter of April 8, 1934, during his semester's research leave, he wrote to Knaplund about how much he was enjoying the company of a colleague--the modern-European historian Chester Higby, a specialist in things Napoleonic, among other--while they were both doing research in Paris:

> Do not be surprised if on my return to Madison, instead of giving my courses in Ancient and Byzantine histories, I announce an advanced course on Napoleon; after several walks with Higby I have become so familiar with Napoleon--his personality, uniforms, mistresses, marshals, etc, that I feel to be able to offer a very interesting course. What do you think of this? Take it easy.

A month later, on May 13, Vasiliev wrote again to Knaplund to report, with an honest and guileless modesty typical of him, about giving a lecture as part of the inauguration of a new hall in the

Byzantine Center of the Royal Library in Brussels:

> After my speech finished, Dean Grégoire pronounced a real panegyric to your modest colleague and friend. Belgian newspapers published very flattering reports. I write all of this because, in my opinion, in my person our University was highly honoured, and I have been very proud of such an honour.

Having reached the age of seventy in September/October 1937, Vasiliev was obliged by law to make the 1937-38 academic year his last, and in the spring of 1938 he became Professor Emeritus. This change left him free to pursue his passion for worldwide travel, and to pursue his steady regimen of scholarly research and publication. Nevertheless, he preserved his affection for and identity with Madison. In an interview of December 5, 1937 (during his final teaching year), for a local newspaper, Vasiliev noted his plans to write his autobiography and assured the interviewer: "There will be a very special chapter on my 15 years at Wisconsin. I am going to say everything--and frankly." He even continued his residence in Madison (apparently returning to the University Club after maintaining quarters at 141 West Gilman St.). But in 1944, the Byzantine Center at Dumbarton Oaks that had been donated by Robert and Mildred Bliss to Harvard had begun to come out from under its wartime use by the government as a conference and scientific research center. Vasiliev was invited to take up residence in its magnificent scholarly facilities as a Senior Scholar. He left for this post in October 1944, with the expectation that he would return to residence in Madison, but his appointment was renewed, and eventually extended to 1948. Even thereafter, he remained at Dumbarton Oaks with little change as Scholar Emeritus, his seemingly endless energy and productivity, on into his eighties, finding a perfect venue in that researcher's paradise.

He did, however, have one last involvement with Madison, in connection with what was perhaps his most widely influential work, his general history of the Byzantine Empire. Through that, Vasiliev's earliest Madison connections were linked with his final ones. The first English translation of this work, in its earlier form,

had been undertaken in 1928-29 by the University of Wisconsin Press, and some special funding had even been secured to help him with that in 1929. Beginning in 1945, while Vasiliev was in Washington, there was discussion of the need to bring out a new edition of this work, heavily revised and necessarily updated. To pursue this, Vasiliev arranged to devote the summer of that year to the necessary work. On April 15, 1945, Vasiliev wrote to Knaplund from Dumbarton Oaks:

> ...It is true that I am having a pleasant and profitable time in Washington, but I do not forget that my home is at Madison. I plan to be back to Madison towards the First of July and stay there till the end of September.

Knaplund paved the way by arranging with the University of Wisconsin's Graduate School for a payment of $1,000 to Vasiliev for his revising, plus $500 to be allocated for Peter Charanis as his Research Associate in this task, in addition to $500 more for stenographic and secretarial help. In making this recommendation to Graduate Dean J. L. Baldwin, Knaplund observed:

> Vasiliev and Charanis are good scholars, but they are not good stylists, and what is needed is someone who can help in putting their work into excellent idiomatic English.

The work continued on beyond that summer, and Charanis was eventually responsible for assembling the massive new bibliography appended to the new edition. Vasiliev himself visited Madison several times while the project was in progress, once in 1948: at that time, he delivered (apparently to an audience there) a tribute which he called "A Farewell to the Library of the University of Wisconsin", of which a typescript survives, dated January 20. In it he recalls affectionately his many happy hours of work in the library, and pleads for fulfillment of plans to construct a new building for it. In the wake of these returns and toils, his great work in its definitive form finally appeared in 1952. (I must acknowledge the great importance to me of this activity: when I purchased a copy of this volume as a college senior in 1954, reading Vasiliev's acknowledgement to Charanis in his Preface pointed me to the latter

as my own mentor in graduate study and effectively launched my own career.)

Vasiliev's years at Dumbarton Oaks are a subject in their own right, with their own harvest of data and stories that lie in full beyond our scope here. In 1950 Vasiliev had a mild stroke, the first serious cracking of his iron constitution, but from which he recovered. In April of 1953, in his eighty-sixth year, he attended the Ninth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, held in Thessaloniki, where he was the focus of extensive personal tributes. A brief visit to Istanbul was followed by a stop in Paris, where he suffered a mild heart attack which gave ominous signals. He hastened back to Washington and Dumbarton Oaks, arriving there on May 25th. He attempted to resume life there, but failed rapidly and died early on the morning of Saturday, May 30, 1953--exactly five hundred years, virtually to the hour, from the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Fate might pay no greater tribute to this consummate embodiment of Byzantinological scholarship than such an apt moment of departure to that great research center in the sky.

Among Vasiliev's close friends during his Washington years had been a couple carried over from his years in Madison: Robert Van Valzah and his wife Aglae Keen Van Valzah. Professor Van Valzah had been on the faculty of Wisconsin's Medical School, and upon his retirement in 1936 had returned to Fredericksburg, Virginia, where his family had long connections. Robert Van Valzah had died in November 1946, but his wife remained energetic and active until her own death in 1970. Vasiliev was close to her in his last years and, though she was over twenty years younger than he, liked to call her "my Grandma." She assumed responsibility for his burial, placing him in the family plot in Fredericksburg's prestigious and historic City Cemetery, beside her husband and behind the plot she would subsequently occupy herself. Meanwhile, in tribute to his friend, Vasiliev left in his will a bequest of $1,000 to the charity fund of Fredericksburg's Mary Washington Hospital, on whose board of directors Mrs. Van Valzah served.

So great was Vasiliev's eminence as a figure on the American academic scene by the end of his life that his death was noted in an

editorial tribute in *The New York Times* on June 3, 1953. In that, Vasiliev was bracketed with his recently deceased friend Rostovtzeff as among the greatest of the scholars who had been produced in old Russia and bestowed upon America by the Revolution. It discussed his scholarly achievements, described as "little short of prodigious," and went on to observe:

> Apart from his own researches Professor Vasiliev will be remembered for his personal qualities. He was a beloved teacher, abounding in good humor and a love of life. His passion for music approached his passion for scholarly inquiry, and his passion for living seemed to exceed both.

Back in Madison, Vasiliev's death was also given generous coverage in the local newspapers. And, when the University of Wisconsin faculty held its first meeting of the autumn, on October 5, 1953, it followed its tradition of hearing memorial resolutions for deceased faculty members. The resolution, was drawn up by a committee that included History colleagues Gaines Post and Robert Reynolds, and his specific successor as Ancient Historian, Charles Edson, plus Classicist Walter Agard, as chaired by Paul Knaplund. The resolution rehearsed Vasiliev's career and achievements, quoted the *Times* editorial, and added thoughts of its own:

> Although by temperament artistic and sensitive, Professor Vasiliev was totally unembittered by his unpleasant experiences during the Russian Revolution. An accomplished musician and a world traveler, Professor Vasiliev abounded in good humor and had a great zest for life.
>
> ...Professor Vasiliev never married and he left no near relatives, but he is mourned by a host of devoted students, friends, and admirers in many lands.

Perhaps the crowning words, in Madison accents, may be taken from Vasiliev's younger colleague Paul Knaplund, who was completing his first term as History Department Chairman at the time Vasiliev was completing his final semester at the University of Wisconsin. In a letter dated May 31, 1938, Knaplund went far beyond mere formality in his expression of official farewell:

> ...I therefore take this opportunity to extend to you, in behalf of the entire Department, our sincere thanks and appreciation of your very valuable and

very loyal service to the Department and to the University during the past thirteen years. We have all felt that you have given us luster and real distinction. You have been the only one among us that could claim world fame as a teacher and as a scholar.

I do not know whether we have, as often as we ought to, made you feel how deeply we valued you personally and how much we esteemed the work that you have done with us and for us, but I am anxious to leave this on record and to make that my last official act as Chairman.

By way of epilogue, I can only add the perfect tribute of a younger colleague of Vasiliev's Washington years, Milton Anastos:

Modest, unassuming, invariably cheerful and optimistic, Vasiliev was a man without rancor or ill will. He was one of those rare characters who meet with instantaneous admiration and affection. It is inconceivable that anyone could have disliked him. The universe has known few such men, and is not likely soon to produce another.

APPENDICES

The following appendices are offered as intimate samples of Vasiliev's writing and activities, notably in their musical dimensions.

The first two derive from his own hand-written oddments and bring us close to the man himself. They are interesting not only for their contents, but for contact with his writing style without any refinements interposed. All but one of the documents are in English, enabling us to savor his approach to the language. Vasiliev was a remarkable linguist, and his command of English clearly was full and fluent during his American years. As demonstrated in these texts, he retained some traces of non-English style, especially in punctuation. And there are occasional quirks in grammar or usage: he seems at times to have had a little trouble with past tenses. But, some lapses aside, his spelling was remarkably accurate and his vocabulary wide and refined. Clearly, he was quite comfortable expressing himself in English, putting his thoughts directly onto the page. It should be added, too, that his penmanship was extraordinarily neat and clear, well into his later years, making his handwriting easy to read, even when he made corrections and adjustments as he wrote.

In transcribing these texts, I have made minimal corrections or interventions, doing my best to preserve his individualities of style exactly as he wrote them.

I. Vasiliev the Would-Be Autobiographer

In a three-page manuscript draft written while he was in retirement in Madison and dated December 2, 1940, Vasiliev blocked out ideas for a projected autobiography, under the heading of "Preface". In his not yet fully refined but perfectly honest English, its text follows:

> I think that for the history of the culture of one or another country are interesting and important memoirs and reminiscences not only of crowned monarchs, their ministers, diplomats, generals, eminent writers, musicians, and painters, but also memoirs and reminiscences of an average man, who has not

passed life by. If we had, at our disposal, a great number of memoirs and reminiscences of the latter sort, many sides of our culture, that we should vainly try to discover in the writings of the former category, might have been clarified. I say this having in view myself. I do not belong to any representatives listed in the first group. I am a modest teacher of a Russian gymnasium, then university professor in Russia and the United States of America, allheartedly devoted to music, indefatigable traveller, and convinced lover of life. In 1940 I have been seventy three years of age. In my little diary for this year, under the date of my birthday (September 22d after the old style or October 5th after the new style) I have made a note: "To-day I have been seventy three years old. Old Fogy!" Meanwhile, this "Old fogy" not only is still alive, but still loves life, like many years ago. During the long years of my life I have seen a great deal, thought over a great deal, experienced a great deal. With the years advancing, turning rather often, in my thoughts, to my past, I have come to an idea of writing my reminiscences not in the shape of a worked out, beautifully written book, but in a fragmentary, sometimes rather superficial form, almost of a diary, in those images, now bright now indistinct, as they arose in my memory. My past has consisted of four essential elements: my teaching and scholarly activities, music, travels, and my personal intimate life. I have not wished to write concerning all sides of my life at once, in one writing: in such a general presentation one side would have overlapped another; so that, I may say, there would have been no chronological perspective, no unity. Therefore I have decided to divide my reminiscences into four parts, according to the above four elements, and start with musical recollections, namely with the element that played the strongest role in my life. After the completion of musical recollections I should like to write the second part concerning my teaching and scholarly activities, and then the third part concerning my travels. More complicated is the question of the fourth part, *i.e.* that of my personal intimate life. Of course, some of its sides will be included in the three previous parts. But this will not be a picture of its developments, its changes, its fluctuations for seventy years of my conscious existence. Therewith I am not willing to say, that my personal intimate life was exceptionally interesting; that what I have lived through, have [also] lived through, probably, millions of other people. But what a small number of those millions have narrated about their intimate life! Then, another question holds me back of describing my personal intimate life: in this respect may one be

absolutely frank? I believe, it is impossible. And it is a great pity. Among eminent figures of the eighteenth century Jean Jacques Rousseau wrote his frank "Confessions"; and up to our day this book is referred to as something unusual that goes beyond our conventional moral prejudices. Of course, I am not a Rousseau; I am a mere mortal, who has tried, now successfully now unsuccessfully, not to pass life by in that form in which it has been accorded to me. Therefore, if I live some more years in a complete or more or less satisfactory health, I shall do my best to write the first three parts of my recollections: music, teaching and research, and travels. And then I shall consider how to deal with the fourth part. Perhaps, by that time, the question will be clarified, and I shall come to the wise conclusion, that it would be better not to write it at all. We shall see!

Though he was to live nearly thirteen more years, Vasiliev apparently never did seriously pursue these autobiographical intentions, plans for which he had spoken of at least as early as 1937. Presumably about the same time as the above "Preface", however, he did begin drafting material for what would have been the intended first part. In addition, during the previous decade, he had already been jotting down some separate sketches of his musical background, partly in the form of some musical talks he presented in Madison. These materials are examined in the next Appendix.

II. Vasiliev the Musician

Presumably in 1940, Vasiliev began what would have been the first part of his memoirs. What survives first is a handwritten draft, contained on two sheets, and entitled "My musical recollections", with the sub-heading, "Introduction". Its text is as follows (retaining its sometimes quirky English):

> Officially I am professor of history; for many years I had been professor in Russia, in Saint-Petersburg and Yuryev-Dorpat (since 1918, Tartu in Estonia; in 1940 reannexed to Russia); later, from 1925 to 1938 I was professor in the United States, in the University of Wisconsin, and, of them, one year (1935-1936) I taught at Columbia University, in New York. Thus, music has not been my special field. But I have been interested in it from my

childhood, and music has taken in my life much tim, being often detrimental to my historical studies. During my long life music has been my real love, an imprescriptible part of my existence, and frequently, in complete sincerity, I have said that I have liked music much more than the history of Byzantium which has become my official specialty and in which field, deservedly or undeservedly, I have gained a certain recognition. Thus music and travel, to which I have also devoted considerable time, have been those elements of my life without which I could not have lived and which have made me love life, react vividly to the beauties of nature, and feel, with great incisiveness and acuteness the personal experiences, joyful and sad, comforting and upsetting, which I have been destined to meet in my life.

I was born in 1867, in Saint-Petersburg, where I spent the first seven years of my life. In those days of my early childhood, apparently I did not like music. My mother played a little piano. I remember that sometimes she was seated at the piano and played some pieces that were popular at that time, for instance, "The Maiden's Prayer", whose author I do not remember, but which, many years later, I heard in various places, for example, in 1902, in the Egyptian city of Suez. In addition, my mother played a composition of Friedrich W. M. Kalkbrenner (died in 1849), entitled something like "Fantasy of a Lunatic", and the famous one time "Le Reveil du Lion" (The Awaking of the Lion) by Antoine Kontski. I cannot say that my mother's playing gave me pleasure; I yelled, wept, stopped my ears, so that finally my poor mother, in order not to irritate my childish nerves, gave up playing entirely.

My father, an officer of the line, was not interested in music, although saying to love it.

When I was five years old, my parents took for me a teacher of music, as I have already mentioned in the introductory chapter, a Russian-German lady Ekaterina Henrikhovna Twelkmeier. She was a kind, conscientious, patient teacher, some thirty years old. Before lessons, being an undisciplined child, I wept and yelled that I do not want to play. In a low voice she advised me to quiet down and start the lesson, calling me by one of my diminutive names Sashenka. But at that time, apparently I began to reveal some inclination for composing. I composed a quadrille from operatic melodies. I remember that I inserted into the second figure the theme of the first *allegro* from the overture to Glinka's opera, "Life for the Tsar",--the *allegro* which reappears in the opera later in the finale of the third act. I cannot remember which other

themes I used in my quadrille, nor from what musical scores I took those airs.

If there were further sheets to this draft, they do not survive. But there are, on a pair of typewritten sheets, two further fragments of reminiscences that would pick up the tale, but this time in French. The first sheet is headed "A.A.Vasiliev (Mémoires)" to which he added by hand, "in Russian". The two fragments read in full as follows:

A l'âge de 12-13 ans je révais d'avoir une voix merveilleuse de ténor; je me voyais alors assis dans une loge du Grand Opéra ou on donnait "Les Huguenots". Mais, chose étrange, le spectacle ne commencait pas et le public devenait impatient et inquiet. Subitement apparait sur la scène le regissuer en chef annonçant la maladie de l'illustre ténor qui devait chanter le role de Raoul ajoutant que personne ne peut le remplacer. Alors je me lève dans ma loge et déclare au public étonné que je suis en état de le faire. Dès mon entrée sur la scène mon succès est formidable, mais après mon duet avec Valentine c'est un triumphe, un délire...

Quatre années de suite, de 1884-1887, je jouais régullièrement dans ma chambre des opéras entiers m'imaginant au theâtre. Je commencais à 8 heures et, prenant example de notre chef d'orchestre illustre Mr. Napravnik, je m'inclinais à droite et à gauche devant mon public imaginaire. Avec un signe de tête je désignais à chaque musiciens de mon orchestre son entrée. Les entreactes duraient 15 minutes et c'est alors que je préparais mes leçons pour le gymnase. J'avais un carnet que tenait compte du nombre de fois que j'avis joué chaque opéra. C'est ainsi que j'ai fété, au courant de ces 4 années, le jubilée de Chaikovsky "Eugène Onegine" que j'avais joué 100 fois, le jubilée des "Huguenots", de "Faust", de "Tannheuzer" et autres opéras joués par 50 fois. Je m'étonne encore de la patience de ma pauvre Mère et de mes soeurs, car alors je jouais à tout casser, j'ouvrais même le couvercle de mon grand piano et les malheureuses ne pouvaient dormir sous ce fracas jusqu'à minuit, l'heure ou mon opéra finissait. Mes soeurs m'ont raconté plus tard que les jours où je jouais leurs opéras favorits, elle tâchaient de finir leurs leçons au plus vite et de se coucher pour mieux écoulter ma musique.

Chaque Samedi nous avions à la maison des petites réunions musicales où mes camarades d'école et de jeunes étudients contribuaient en chantant ou jouant sur de differents instruments des romances et des pièces de nos fameux

compositeurs comme Glinka, Chaikovsky, Dragomyshky, Borodine et autres. Ces soirées étaient extrêmement 'cozy'. Ma Mère était assise à la salle-a-manger se tenant devant un samovar bouillant à toute vapeur, la table était garnie de petits pains dorés, de tartine au fromage et au sausisson; le thé, servi à la Russe dans des verres, se buvait pendant toute la soirée en quantité suprenante. On se separait à minuit...

Quant maintenant, à la fin des mes jours, je pense à ces chers Samedis lointains, leur seul souvenir me rempli de fraicheur et de joie qui m'aident à vivre.

Vasiliev's autobiographical recollections as to music were already being formulated years before he projected his memoirs. In the Washington deposit of his papers, there are hand-written notes he drew up for two separate public presentations he gave in Madison, if for unspecified groups. The first set is quite extensive, occupying ten sheets organized into twenty numbered pages, and dated December 16, 1933. From the context, it would appear the audience consisted of musicians of one sort or another.

These notes begin cursorily, with abbreviated indications of his childhood beginnings in music, very much as above. He then goes on to discuss the operatic repertoires in the Russia of his youth, the Russian and the Italian operas, given in two entirely separate imperial theaters. "Russian music was not in great favor," he observes: "Russian music was unpopular at that time. Italian operas were most popular."

Vasiliev by this point moves from fragmentary cue phrases to full-blown prose, as he recollects the importance for him of a composer and critic now forgotten and little known in the West, Alexander N. Serov (1820-1871):

> The first opera I saw was Serov's *Rognieda*. One Sunday my father took me to the Opera. I was a boy of 12 years.
>
> Serov was a very talented Russian composer undeservedly neglected; the first to rise against the Italian genre in opera; the first [who] recognized Wagner in Russia (Wagner of *Tannhäuser* and *Lohengrin*); a very sharp and often wicked musical critic. Like Wagner, he wrote himself the librettos of his operas.

> Serov scoffed (mocked) at Italian operas or other operas written in It. style; criticized their music and librettos. I was told that once after the performance of Flotov's opera *Indra* [or *Naida*?] Serov, in the parterre, stood on a seat and began his speech to the public. "What a shame to listen to and enjoy such a music!" He was immediately removed from the theatre. Italian operas of that time were ridiculed also by Mussorgsky.

Vasiliev then goes on to comment on the way Italian operatic singing distended words and syllables endlessly for musical display, a practice that Mussorgsky satirized in a song in the form of "a very banal, commonplace, trivial valse" using the syllables of Patti's name.

> You perhaps heard of Adelina Patti, the most famous operatic soprano of the XIX c., who had sung in S[aint} P[etersburg]. I never heard her; but I remember the exuberant exultation of my parents, uncles, and so on, on account of the singing of this nightingale.

Caught up with the recollection of Patti, Vasiliev then continues his digression with an anecdote:

> It was the time when Patti had fallen in love with the famous tenor Nicolini, who later became her second husband. The representatives of the generation before mine used to like to recall how in the 4 act of Gounod's "Romeo and Julliette [sic]", during the love duet, a sombre human figure rose from his seat, in the parterre. It was Patti's first jealous husband, Marquis de Caux, who wished to know, whether Rome[o]=Nicolini really kissed Juliette=Patti his wife, or not. Now let us turn back to the first opera I saw.

Whereupon Vasiliev relates how impressed he had been as a child by Serov's *Rognieda*, especially a chorus of pilgrims in its third act, and its final scene, representing the conversion of Russia to Christianity.

> Even now, to-night, when I recall the finale of *Rognieda*, which I saw many times afterwards, I find that the finale of this opera belongs to one of the most beautiful pages of operatic music in general.

Vasiliev admits he realized that the choral scene was "suggested

by" the final scene of Wagner's *Tannhäuser*.

> But this was a noble suggestion and I must admit that Serov succeeded in combining fresh musical currents of Western Europe with Russian history, Russian folklore, and Russian popular songs. I am happy that at this moment my Russian musical friends, who now are, helas, very few, do not hear me speaking here in such a way of Serov and his music; otherwise I could not continue my talk, for I would be torn to pieces.

Vasiliev then resumes with a description of the continuing musical experiences of his youth:

> Then I heard Gounod's *Faust*, Glinka's *R*[*uslan*] *and Ludmila*, and Meyerbeer's *Huguenots*. My musical interest has become concentrated in operatic music, and almost for seven years I have played nothing but operatic scores. Four times a week, from 8 to 11, I have given my own operatic performances at home; I have written my own repertoires; and played different operas, Russian, French, Italian, and German, in full, from the first page to the last, with intermissions; I have had my imaginary orchestra; I greeted my imaginary musicians at the beginning; I conducted my orchestra, gave indications to different instruments to start, etc. A record of the operas given by myself was meticulously kept. Some operas like *Eugene Onegine* or *Faust* which especially appealed to me during the epoch of my first love (everybody has had his first love!) I have played over fifty times. So, you are not surprised that towards the eighteenth year of my life I have become among non professional musicians, a good authority on operatic music in general.
>
> So, you see, my musical education has been developing absolutely abnormally, starting by operas, and later completed by symphonical, chamber, and piano music.
>
> Simultaneously with my own operatic performances, every Saturday a group of youngsters of 16-19 years have been gathering at my mother's apartment for music; there were several singers, and I have accompanied them on the piano. Our repertoire was arias, fragments, sometimes choruses from various operas, and songs, especially of Russian composers--Tchaikovsky, Dargomyjsky, and some older second class composers for a short while famous for their songs, emotional, romantic, but often thin and rather cheap.

Vasiliev then proceeds to discuss the "neo-Russian movement"

known as "the big five" (Balakirev, Cui, Mussorgsky, Rimsky-Korsakov, Borodin) and their relationship with Tchaikovsky.

> Cui was not only a composer but also a musical critic. He always wrote that Tch[aikovksy]'s recent composition was inferior to the previous one. We knew before what he would write: Tc's fifth symphony is inferior to the fourth; the sixth symphony inferior to the fifth, etc.

He then returns to his youthful progress:

> This was the time, when I was the pupil of gymnasium. When I was in upper classes (7 and 8), I began tutoring and spend my money on music and theatres. Once a week I have gone either to the Russian or Italian Operatheatro, to the gallery (Nigger/peanut heaven) to the Paradise, sometimes with music scores, and enjoyed it immensely.
>
> I began to understand that the musical life of S[aint] P[etersburg] has been famous not only for its two opera houses; but also by its concerts--symphony music, chamber music etc. Berlioz, Liszt, Wagner were enthusiastically greeted. But the concerts of Russian music were little attended.
>
> But the end of the eighties was a turning point in this respect. A full credit must be given in this respect to Tchaikovsky and R.-Korsakov. Some famous W. European conductors, especially Nikis[c]h, have made their reputation by conducting Tchaikovksy's symphonies.
>
> This talk has been limited to my childhood and youth before I entered the University and attempted, although unsuccessfully, to combine the University with the Conservatory.
>
> And I hope you will excuse my informal chat, perhaps too informal and thin from the point of view of real and professional musicians, as you are.
>
> As to myself, I am deeply grateful to you for having given me an opportunity of recalling my remote past, which seems to me even now so fascinating, so interesting, so romantic. The older a man grows, the more he likes to go back to his childhood and youth, and one of the characteristic traits of that period of my life was my love of music, and to this love I have remained faithful through all my life, in Russia, in Europe in general and here in America.

A further sheet added to this series contains some scribblings (including his experimentation with the different colloquialisms for a

theater's "cheap seats"--"paradise--Indian gallery, peanut gallery, Nigger gallery"). Then, in a smaller hand, he crammed into a page-format a written-out introduction to be given at a piano recital he presented (date and venue uncertain, but presumably after the 1933 talk). These notes run as follows:

> You know, I am not a pianist at all; I am only a modest amateur and admirer of music. Therefore if I play to-night, I hope that it will be quite an informal recital of some selections from Russian music as far as I am able to remember them. I shall play a selection from an opera of R[imsky] K[orsakov], the "Snowmaid" or, as some people suggest me "Snowflake", but I think that the first title is more corresponding to the real title of this charming fairytale. In the selection, which I am going to play, the following scenes/moments of this opera will be used: Last cold winternight on the eve of the beginning of the Spring. Silence and stillness. Bright moon and stars. In the distance a village covered with snow. Somewhere a cocq crows; an other cocq replies. Peeps and cries of birds of passage are heard. Then a figure representing Spring, accompanied/ surrounded by various birds, appears.
>
> Birds, shivering in cold, try to keep warm in dancing. After that, in my selection, a song of a mythical shepherd, singer of love and warmth, follows. After a popular festival in a deep forest with singing and dancing, in the presence of their old king-tsar, sitting on the modest throne, the young people, bridegrooms and brides, by couples advance to the throne and there before their old good tsar the bridegrooms and brides kiss one another, as it was an ancient custom in those remote pagan times. The old tsar is completely happy to see the happiness of his young subjects. The latter scene I shall also play, to the conclusion of my selections.

III. Vasiliev the Composer

A copy survives to us of the program for the performance of November 2, 1934. It is a carefully printed eight-page booklet filled with supportive advertisements, and also containing lists of patrons and acknowledgements. (One of the advertisements mentions a store manager, Mrs. Violet Hoiby, who was the mother of Lee Hoiby, then a boy, but to become a distinguished American composer himself.) The performance information includes a set of

Notes, author unidentified (Gillen? Vasiliev?), which preserve careful descriptions of Vasiliev's music.

These notes first discuss *The Lady of Shalott*, which is identified as "one of the most melodic poems in the language." The notes then continue:

> The poem may be read merely as a romantic tale, or there may be read into it a mystical meaning. Professor Vasiliev has chosen to interpret the poem from the story point of view, although he has clothed the music with something of the atmosphere of mysticism which surrounds the tale.
>
> In the prelude there is a rough sketch of the personages of the poem. There is also depicted the atmosphere of dream in which dwells the Lady of Shalott. The prelude ends with the cracking of the mirror, followed by the quiet of the sleep of death.
>
> What follows is an interpretation of the four parts into which the poem was divided by Tennyson. PART I shows the fields of barley and of rye with the river flowing where "willows whiten, aspens quiver"; "the heavy barges trailed by slow horses." the dancing girls, the abbott, the knights and others on their way to Camelot.
>
> Follows the weaving of the web of fancy in which is woven the sights reflected in the magic mirror into which rides at last Sir Lancelot whose coming into her life breaks the dream in which she has lived. The magic mirror cracks from side to side; the curse has come.
>
> Then there is pictured the sadness of nature; the wailing of the wind, the rain, the low clouds, the death of the Lady of Shalott, her entry into Camelot where the sound of revelry dies at her approach. Then four chords announce the approach of Sir Lancelot, and with his prayer for grace for the Lady of Shalott, the music dies away after catching up again some of the melodies that ran through the prelude as if to give us a quick glance back over the whole story.

The notes for the other work are more brief:

> Turgenev has probably left us a biographical sketch in his *Leaves from the Diary of a Dead Artist*. But whether biographical or not, they gave inspiration for Professor Vasiliev's musical setting which completes this beautiful love-story, and incidentally gives us an insight into many phases of Russian life.

There are eight fragments or pictures. They may be listed as follows: Love's Sad Satiety; Contemplation of Death; Recall of Life; Contemplation of Love; Spring of Love; Inspiration of Love (Russian Melodies); Sublimation of Love; Love Transcendent.

It should be noted that the composition of independent literary melodramas--that is, not segments of background music for passages in a stage play, but treatments of substantial poems for reciter with musical accompaniment, usually by piano--was quite common for salon use in the late nineteenth century. Among its practitioners, for instance, was no less than the philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche, in his early days as an active composer. Perhaps the best model for Vasiliev could have been Richard Strauss's 1897 setting of another Tennyson poem, *Enoch Arden* (though in a German translation), for reader and piano.

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WEITZMANN, KURT (1904-1993)

WILLIAM C. LOERKE

Kurt Weitzmann
Reflections on his student years[1]

Kurt Weitzmann once entered a disclaimer to the title Byzantinist. In an interview in 1984, in his 80th year, his life-long disciplined concern for factual accuracy led him to say "I never became a Byzantinist in the strict sense of the word. I am rather an art historian who deals with medieval art at large and later classical, Early Christian and Byzantine art in particular." His remark may surprise some who are aware of his prodigious, path-breaking studies clarifying the sources, formation, and character of Byzantine art, and of his strenuous efforts to retrieve from the near oblivion of monastic treasures at Mt. Athos and Mt. Sinai such a rich cache of Byzantine illuminated manuscripts and icons. But his remark is literally true. By it he simply meant to outline his fields of interest and expertise while excluding a term that has come to suggest a narrower scope. His manifold contributions were written by an art historian, not a Byzantine art historian and not a Byzantinist.

It is possible in hindsight to see his career as a natural, albeit astonishing product of his training in the German universities of the 1920s. But if we stand beside him in the French occupied zone of the Ruhr amid the staggering inflation, political turmoil and social unrest rampant in post-World War I Germany, who could have predicted then, or at later points in that decade, which path he would take or where it would lead? What is significant to observe is that he found within himself, at an early age, the capacity for strong responses to visual arts of the widest variety. He made this discovery and followed its lead long before he became an art historian. It took time for his compass to settle on medieval art.

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1 Kurt Weitzmann, *Sailing with Byzantium from Europe to America; The Memoirs of an Art Historian* (Munich, 1984), 31-82.

Within that broad field, the path to Byzantium opened dramatically at the last moment.

During his years at the Humanistic Gymnasium (1914-23) at Gelsenkirchen, a large city set amid coal mines in the Ruhr, Kurt experienced his first and "unforgettable" encounter with a work of art close up when a classmate, Hans Robbers, showed him the family collection of engravings by Aldegever. From that moment he led a "double life," that is, constantly adding to his direct experience of original works, no matter what or where he was studying. Visits to the Landesmuseum in Kassel, with its fine collection of classical sculpture and Dutch Kleinmeister paintings, prompted his decision, made in that museum, to study classical archaeology along with art history. In addition, he resolved "to gain a global view of art on my own and in front of originals." Weekends and holidays he fanned out to Cologne for its Romanesque churches, to Hagen for its remarkable Folkwang-museum where Far Eastern, Polynesian, and African art confronted German Expressionist prints and paintings, and to Holland on the track for more Dutch Kleinmeister paintings.

His "double life" continued with greater intensity during his university years (1923-29), which began, in response to his parents' advice, with his enrollment at Münster as a law student. One lecture on rent law, "the most boring subject imaginable," confirmed beyond doubt his decision to study art history and classical archaeology. Overcoming the objections of his parents, he wrote to Professor Martin Wackernagel, chairman of the art department at Münster, who admitted to his advanced seminar this 19-year-old young man then working in a coal mine where he earned several million marks a day. Kurt got to Münster from the French-occupied Ruhr for the Winter Semester of 1923-24 on a pass issued to another person and about to expire. He found Wackernagel an inspiring teacher, who placed the artist and the work of art in its social context, including matters of patronage. Similarly, Arnold von Salis brought Greek mythology to bear on the analysis and interpretation of scenes in Greek vase paintings, a method fruitful for Kurt's later studies in that field. In addition to this auspicious beginning of

Kurt's entry into art history and classical archaeology, he continued his quest for a "global view" of art with trips to Osnabrück, Paderborn, and other places.

Kurt chose Würzburg as his second university because of its location, noting from a map that Bamberg, Nürnberg, Rothenburg, Heilbronn, and Heidelberg were easily accessible from Würzburg. The summer semester of 1924 became in retrospect his "most enjoyable" one, perhaps because he was "more on the road than in the classroom." Focal points became the sculpture of Riemenschneider and the architecture of Balthasar Neumann at Vierzehnheiligen and Neresheim, in addition to the Residenz in Würzburg. The impact of Neumann's dramatic interiors and carefully crafted designs led Kurt to enroll in a course in architectural drawing to further his own visual understanding of these remarkable works. Amid the powerful attractions of the German Medieval, Renaissance, and Baroque art and architecture in and around Würzburg, the sensitive and exacting seminars of Heinrich Bulle's lectures and seminars in Greek sculpture and vase painting and Edmund Weigand's introduction to Roman catacomb painting kept Kurt in close touch with his central pursuit of classical archaeology and art history.

When Weitzmann went to Berlin for the Winter Semester, 1924-25, he was frank to admit that he was attracted to the "Berlin of the twenties" by the richness of its cultural life. He was also frank to admit that his "first concern" was to pursue his "global view" of art on the broader stage offered by the extensive collections in its museums, as well as by the stimulating exhibitions of modern art in the rooms of its major art dealers. It seems not to have occurred to him, at age 20, that these two aims would not necessarily play much of a role in Adolf Goldschmidt's selection of members for his advanced seminar, which Kurt hoped to join the summer semester of 1925. Kurt enrolled in Goldschmidt's course of lectures on Flemish painting, 15th and 16th centuries, and in Eduard Meier's course in comparative religions. He attended the inaugural lectures of Hans Kauffman, a specialist in Rubens, and some of the final lectures of Adolf von Harnack and Ullrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff. He

frequented the museums and hoped for Goldschmidt's permission to enter his seminar. When permission was denied, he decided to "try his luck" in Vienna, enrolling for the Summer and Winter terms of 1925-26.

In Vienna, I think a shift gradually appears in Kurt's awareness of what he had yet to do to become an art historian. Goldschmidt's rejection must have given him pause. It suggested that the troika he had exuberantly driven through Münster, Würzburg and Berlin, whose horses were named Global View, Classical Archeology, and Art History, might not guarantee success for his central aim, i.e., to get into Goldschmidt's coveted seminar and thereby become the art historian he wished to be. A hint of this change may be Kurt's acknowledgement in his *Memoirs* that he owed to Professor Karl Maria Swoboda "that my studies found a sharper focus." Swoboda also focused his mind for the first time, so far as we can tell, on the issue of a theme for his Ph.D. dissertation, suggesting that he take it from a paper he had written for his seminar: "The Pulpit at Caligari (Sardinia) and the Tuscan Proto-Renaissance." Finally, it was Swoboda who encouraged him to return to Berlin, once his work in Vienna was finished, to re-establish contact with Goldschmidt, "the most eminent teacher," both for methodical training and for his special interests.

Other professors at Vienna who deeply impressed Weitzmann were Julius von Schlosser and Emanuel Löwy. The first required each participant in his seminar on Manetti's biography of Brunelleschi to translate and comment on a chapter under the critical eye of this distinguished Renaissance scholar. Löwy's method of conducting a seminar Kurt adopted and practiced years later in Princeton. Löwy would listen in silence to a student presenting his arguments, noting each point that required comment. Then he would respond with sharply critical remarks, delivered in so pleasant a manner as to make the student grateful for this constructive criticism. Swoboda, von Schlosser and Löwy, one feels, had a stabilizing as well as a stimulating influence on Weitzmann at a critical point in his student years.

Kurt's passion to see "originals" continued in Vienna with trips to Krems, Heiligenkreutz, and Budapest, among other places. But, as he later wrote, the "greatest experience" of his traavels radiating from Vienna occurred on his first trip to Italy. This was to Venice with his friend Helmut Schlunk, armed with sketchbooks instead of cameras. Venice the city, and San Marco in particular, overwhelmed him to a degree that drove thoughts of art history out of his head. This was his first significant encounter with Byzantine art. The intensity of this experience remains unmatched in his accounts of later trips to Tuscany, Umbria, Rome, and Sicily.

When Weitzmann returned to Berlin for the Summer Semester in 1926, letters of recommendation from von Schlosser and Swoboda gained him entry to Goldschmidt's seminar. His paper in that seminar, nearly scratched for lack of time, apparently met Goldschmidt's standards. This became obvious in a later discussion with Goldschmidt on the subject to be chosen for his dissertation. Kurt, determined to select a topic appropriate to his training in classical archaeology and art history, proposed the pulpit in Caligari, Sardinia, following Swoboda's suggestion. This pulpit had been carved in 1161 for the cathedral of Pisa, which presented it to Caligari when its new pulpit, commissioned from Giovanni Pisano, was installed in 1310. Study of the Caligari pulpit would have involved Kurt in the "Proto-Renaissance" of 12th century Tuscany. Goldschmidt was not impressed, arguing that the limited character of this topic offered few avenues for post-doctoral research. Instead, he offered Kurt, 40 years his junior, an astounding counter proposal that would determine the direction of his scholarly life. He proposed "Byzantine Ivory Caskets of the 10-11th Century," a subject that would require wide knowledge of Greek mythology, vase painting, and narrative sculpture. Along with this proposal came the generous offer of the notes and photographs Goldschmidt had been collecting for years in preparation for his corpus of Byzantine ivory carving. It was, in fact, an offer to become his research associate and collaborator.

Weitzmann's student years technically ended with submission of his dissertation in 1929 and the passing of examinations in Dutch

17th century painting, Greek and Roman painting, Greek philosophy, and medieval history. All this, however, was merely a prelude to an astonishing burst of energy that produced four pioneering books[2] and at least two major articles[3] between 1929 and 1935. With Goldschmidt he had found a key to focus his great energy and powers of concentration on major projects, and to bring them to successful conclusions, i.e., to print, without slighting his wide-ranging interests in the visual arts.

Goldschmidt's seminars, no matter what the topic, all began with close, critical observation of a sharply limited number of objects. His training in the natural sciences led him always to seek objective criteria as he endeavored to place these works in their social and historical context. On the other hand, he was an accomplished amateur in painting and drawing, and always sought to understand the creative process. This was the discipline in which he trained professionals, at the rate of 15 per term, first at Halle and then at Berlin, where he had succeeded Heinrich Wölfflin in 1912.

In the introduction to a Festschrift presented to Goldschmidt on his 70th birthday in 1933[4], Kurt paid tribute to his sharp eye and conscientious judgments simply and clearly stated. "We also know," he went on, "that your objective stance springs not frm a dry

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[2] Kurt Weitzmann and Adolph Goldschmidt, *Die Byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X.-XIII. Jahrhunderts. Vol.I, Kästen* (Berlin, 1930; reprinted 1978). Kurt Weitzmann, *Die Armenische Buchmalerei des 10. und beginnenden 11. Jahrhunderts* (Bamberg, 1933; 2nd edition, Amsterdam, 1970). Kurt Weitzmann and Adolph Goldschmidt, *Die Byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X.-XIII. Jahrhunderts. Vol.II, Reliefs* (Berlin, 1934; reprinted 1978). Kurt Weitzmann, *Die Byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1935; reprinted 1990).

[3] Kurt Weitzmann, "Der Pariser Psalter Ms. Grec. 139 und die Mittelbyzantinische Renaissance," *Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* (1929), 178-194; reprinted with annotations in *Collected Studies* II, 1980 (essay 1). *Idem,* "Probleme der Mittelbyzantinischen Renaissance." *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Archaeol. Instituts A. A.* (1933), cols. 336-360. Reprinted with annotations in *Collected Studies* III, 1981 (essay 8).

[4] Das siebente Jahrzent. Festschrift zur 70. Geburtstag von Adolph Goldschmidt 15. Jan. 1933 (Berlin, 1935).

intellect or a cold nature, but from a soul at once benevolent and discriminating. To approach the object with warm hearts and a cool understanding, with attentive eyes and careful hands - this seems to be your method. To learn this...was and is our aim." This tribute applies with equal force to Kurt Weitzmann. This was the kind of art history Kurt Weitzmann, the "non-Byzantinist," absorbed in his student years and brought to America in 1935.

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Dumbarton Oaks

WESTERINK, LEENDERT G. (1913-1990)

JOHN M. DUFFY

Byzantium in Buffalo: From the Life and Works of L.G. Westerink

The University at Buffalo, founded in 1846 as a medical school, did not begin to have liberal arts subjects on its curriculum until the second decade of the twentieth century and then only as the result of a mandate of 1913 from the American Medical Association, that aspirants to the medical profession should have a preparatory year of college education. As part of this program, Latin and Greek were made available for study in 1916 and from that time until the early 1960's the Department of Classics was represented by a small nucleus of never more than three members with professorial rank. If Classical Greek had such a limited presence on the Buffalo campus, it is not surprising that Byzantium was hardly in evidence. Still, slight signs of an interest could be detected already in the early fifties when the department was chaired by Michael G. H. Gelsinger, a native of Pennsylvania, who had two higher degrees from Harvard University. Gelsinger, despite his Germanic ancestry, was a priest of the Orthodox Church and was particularly interested in the study of Orthodox liturgy. According to a short history of the department by Professor Charles Garton, a colleague and good friend of Westerink (and the source for most of these details on the early days of Greek studies in Buffalo), Gelsinger also took it upon himself to open up the curriculum a bit, by offering instruction not only in the Greek New Testament but also in Byzantine poetry and hymns. Perhaps it was no accident that the Instructor he appointed in 1954, and the man who became his eventual successor as head of the department, was George Kustas. Kustas held a Ph. D. in Classics from Harvard, was deeply interested in the Greek Fathers and in Byzantine literature, and had spent three years at Dumbarton Oaks at the beginning of the fifties. He was also destined to lead Classics through an intense period of growth — the department mushroomed from two professors in 1962 to eleven in 1969, the year that Kustas stepped

down as Chair. Leendert Gerrit Westerink was one of those nine new appointments.

The huge expansion in Buffalo began in 1962 when the University entered the state system, a development driven by the vision and competitive spirit of Governor Nelson Rockefeller, who was eager to keep up with the general explosion in Higher Education around the nation. Suddenly Buffalo was aspiring to become the Berkeley of the East, and as soon as possible. New or expanded graduate programs needed professors and students who, if not available at home, were brought in from Canada, Europe and Australia. That Westerink had caught wind of these changes in the States we cannot say for certain, though it is unlikely that he was gearing himself to leave Holland for good without some sense that such a radical move was a real possibility. By 1965 he had already spent twenty years teaching English, Greek, and Latin in a Dutch lyceum, all the while keeping up an active career of research and publishing. Since receiving the degree of D. Litt. in 1948 he had produced five critical editions of late Greek philosophy and had ten articles in print. Perhaps tiring of high school work or even losing hope of finding a university post in Holland he was now willing to explore the larger world and greater opportunities offered by America.

Whatever the precise motivation, the immediate series of events that led to his coming to Buffalo was simple and fast moving. A letter dated March 24, 1965 arrived on the desk of George Kustas. It was from a former teacher and distinguished Classicist, Friedrich Solmsen, then at the University of Wisconsin in Madison. In essence, Solmsen indicated that he was aware of the expansion of the Classics program in Buffalo and wanted to pass along the personalia of L. G. Westerink who had written to say that he was interested in finding an academic position in the United States. Kustas immediately sent a letter to Westerink, introducing himself as a Byzantinist who had long known and admired the Dutch scholar's work; he also knew Basil Laourdas from time spent together at Dumbarton Oaks (Laourdas had co-authored an article with Westerink in 1960); the Classics department, Kustas continued, was about to launch a Ph. D. program that Fall and was hoping to appoint

a specialist in early Greek Philosophy; if Westerink would be interested in exploring possibilities further, Kustas would be glad to hear from him. Westerink soon replied that he was very attracted by the possibility of coming to Buffalo; for graduate teaching, he imagined, he would have to limit himself to philosophy and, possibly, post-classical Greek literature; he was also, of course, much interested in learning about the library facilities. This exchange of communicatons completed, Kustas lost no time in soliciting letters of recommendation and they began to arrive over the course of the following weeks: from, among others, E. R. Dodds in England, Heinrich Dörrie in Germany, Basil Laourdas in Greece, and the two Dutch Classicists W. J. W. Koster and J. H. Waszink. The letters were without exception full of respect and highly laudatory. They spoke of humanism and wide learning, profound scholarship and exemplary editing of texts; the scholars who knew the man at firsthand also mentioned his quiet and unassuming demeanor as well as his devotion to teaching. Koster described his personal character in this sentence: "He has a rather critical turn of mind, which does not appear at first sight in ordinary converstion and scientific discussion, Mr. Westerink being a man of modest deportment and few words, and not inclined to spontaneous statements." Waszink concluded his remarks with an incisive recommendation: "But summa summarum: take the man while it is not yet too late!" Perhaps Waszink was somehow aware of the fact, on record in a second letter from Solmsen to Kustas, that Westerink's case was also being presented to some other U.S. universities, including Columbia and Northwestern. In the event Kustas acted with some speed and on May 25 wrote to Westerink offering him the post of Professor of Classics to begin in September 1965. The whole process had taken exactly two months, and in short order Westerink was ready to leave his native country to reside for the rest of his life in the United States.

Born in 1913, the son of a Protestant minister, he later converted to Roman Catholicism, not without provoking some disagreement within his own family. In 1945 he married Barbara Schmidt and they had four children, the two younger of whom were to attend High School and College in the U.S. and are now settled in this country,

one a Professor of Engineering and the other a medical doctor with strong interests in research. Westerink was awarded the D. Litt. degree by the University of Nijmegen in 1948 for his edition of Psellos' *De omnifaria doctrina.* In that work there is no mention of a mentor and it may safely be assumed that the young scholar, a self-starter if there ever was one, had taken up the rather daunting task on his own initiative and carried it through by himself largely unaided. The finished product shows already many of his characteristic trademarks. But his scholarly preparation was much broader than a thesis on Psellos might suggest. He had achieved the rank of Doctorandus in Classical Languages in 1939 and Doctorandus in English Language and Literature in 1945. The latter fact would largely explain how easily and naturally he made the transition to an English speaking environment; he had hardly any trace of an accent and spoke the idiom almost perfectly from the first day on U.S. soil. He was such a good linguist that he could have made an equally smooth transition to either Germany or France whose languages he could speak and write flawlessly and whose literatures he knew very well. But to Buffalo he came, and both sides were to benefit immensely.

As far as one can tell from the Buffalo record, Westerink did not teach a lot on the undergraduate level. He was quite at home in smaller classes on Greek and Latin authors, and he did offer, for example, courses in Plato and Lucretius. But given his background and quiet personality he certainly was not cut out for the rough and tumble of lecturing to larger groups of the general student population. In Buffalo in the late 1960's the young lions of the Classics faculty were teaching courses that ranged from Greek and Roman Mythology to Rock Lyrics, precisely the type of offerings needed in a growing program to entice younger students. Westerink, like some other senior members of the department, stayed well clear of these new developments. Instead he concentrated a large part of his energy on the graduate program which was in the process of turning out its first Ph.D.'s. Hired to be the specialist in Ancient Philosophy he also taught a quite a few other courses and seminars in both Greek and Latin literature, though surprising to say, very seldom on Byzantine

topics. A glance at the semester schedules reveals titles like the following: **Survey of Greek and Roman Philosophy**; **Seminar on the Greek Anthology; Cicero's *De natura deorum*; The History of Greek Literature; Seminar on Latin Literature; Aristotle's *Ethics*;** and **Seminar on Life in Fourth Century Athens**. In the classroom he went about the task of teaching in a businesslike way; low-keyed, well organized and good humored, he made full use of the allotted time. The proceedings were largely text-based and when the students were not presenting their interpretations or going through their paces in translating, the professor was shedding all kinds of light on the inner workings of the language, making well-founded connections between ideas, or deftly undoing knotty problems. If he did not know an answer, there was no song and dance of aporia or apology; he just made a concise confession of ignorance and moved on; time had to be used well. That was the impression left, at any rate, since he would not have said so to his audience. The students, for their part, recent graduates of universities on three continents, were awed by the learning, the gentleness and the humility of the man. Thanks to his somewhat ascetic looks and special powers of concentration he was soon mischievously and lovingly given the nickname "Nous" — pure intellect. Another senior professor in the department and distinguished scholar almost petrified students with the high standards he demanded and by the threat of his acidic tongue; one prepared for and attended his seminars with trepidation. Westerink was at the opposite extreme; if there was any uneasiness in dealing with him, it came not from worrying about anything he might do or say, but rather from one's own sense of inadequacy and a fear of coming up short and causing him embarassment.

The one time he did manage in his teaching to deal with late Greek and Byzantine subjects was when he offered the special seminars on editing that he instituted a few years after his appointment. Because it was an experiment that must be judged highly successful, it might be worth while to give a few details on how it worked in practice. Seminar Classics 609 had the title **Practical Training in the Editing of Greek Texts** and over the course of twenty years the

opportunity was made available five times. It was a unique chance, even for those who would never put a hand to editing again, to take a one-semester apprenticeship to a master editor and to be fully involved in each of the steps needed to produce a critical edition and translation. The document was chosen by Westerink with some care and forethought; it had to be of a reasonable length and surviving in a single or at most two manuscripts. Typically the participants (who ranged in number from three to seven) each did a full reading and collation of the manuscript material and their results were compared at the weekly seminar meeting; at the same time corrections to the text were being discussed and a version of the apparatus was taking shape. In the meantime too, outside of the seminar period, a translation was being prepared, with the task divided up between individuals or groups. Westerink himself read these versions carefully, made corrections, suggested improvements, and saw to the matter of consistency between the different parts. By the end of the semester about three quarters of the project had been completed. The remainder had to be seen to over the course of the following one or more semesters on a voluntary basis. Sometimes it took gentle coaxing, but never any kind of unwelcome pressure. Again, as circumstances permitted, the tasks were shared and final versions of text, apparatus and translation were put together; Westerink, usually, though not always, took care of the introduction and later of the indices. It was, as the seminar title said, practical training and not just a "see the master at work" affair. A further indication of its worth is the fact that all five projects reached full publication. The first three, starting with Porphyry's *The Cave of the Nymphs in the Odyssey* (seminar in 1968, publication 1969), and followed by *Mazaris' Journey to Hades* (1975) and Agnellus of Ravenna on Galen's *De sectis* (1981), were all issued as **Arethusa** monographs in Buffalo; George Pachymeres' *Commentary on Plato's Parmenides* appeared in the series *Byzantine Philosophers* (Athens, 1989); and the outcome of the last Seminar Classics 609, held in 1988 and devoted to the edition of John of Alexandria's commentary on the Hippocratic text *On the Nature of the Child*, was published in the Corpus Medicorum Graecorum series (Berlin, 1997).

The topics of dissertations done under his guidance varied quite a bit and tended to be, with one or two exceptions, editions of Byzantine texts. The first Ph.D. student of Westerink was the Irish scholar John A. Madden, now Professor of Classics at University College Galway, who completed a literary study of the 6th century poet Makedonios and later published this work as *Macedonius Consul: The Epigrams* (Hildesheim, 1995). Text edition dissertations that eventually became books were *Stephanus the Philosopher: A Commentary on the Prognosticon of Hippocrates* (Berlin, 1983) by John M. Duffy, also an Irish native and currently Professor of Byzantine Philology and Literature at Harvard University; *The Correspondence of Leo of Synada* (Dumbarton Oaks, 1985) by the American scholar Martha P. Vinson, now a Professor of Classics at Indiana University; Arethas of Caesarea's *Scholia on Porphyry's Isagoge and Aristotle's Categories* (Athens/Brussels, 1994) by the Australian Michael Share who returned to his native country. There was also a good edition of Nicetas the Paphlagonian's *Life of Ignatius* by the Englishman Andrew Smithies which was destined for the *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* series, and it is to be hoped that it will still appear there some day. Though he did not do it as a dissertation, Keith Dickson (presently Professor of Classics at Purdue University) prepared, with Westerink's encouragement, the edition and translation of a medical text, recently published as *Stephanus the Philosopher and Physician: Commentary on Galen's Therapeutics to Glaucon* (Leiden, 1998). This volume contained the typical acknowledgement, "It owes most to the quiet wisdom of L. G. Westerink, for which it offers far too little return." Another case well illustrates Westerink's entirely unselfish concern to promote the interests both of his students and of the fields of Neoplatonic and Byzantine studies. Neil Linley, a young doctoral candidiate from Britain with special expertise in Arabic, had just completed a dissertation (supervised by the philosopher Professor George F. Hourani) when he met an unexpected death some days before the scheduled oral defence. Soon afterwards Westerink secured the unprecedented award of a posthumous Ph.D. and undertook to arrange much of the extra work needed to get the dissertation in shape

for printing; the Arabic text and English translation appeared as the **Arethusa** monograph *Ibn at-Tayyib: Proclus' Commentary on the Pythagorean Golden Verses* (Buffalo, 1984).

In keeping with his general mode of dealing with students and collaborators, Westerink gave a long leash to dissertation writers; never intrusive, he was always there when needed. Perhaps there were occasions when a bit of prodding was called for and might have been beneficial, but that would have amounted to pressure and it was not in his nature to apply it. Once installments of work were submitted to him, they came back usually with surprising speed, the margins decked out with neatly pencilled and lightly written scholia; there was no wasting of time or space; corrections big and small were pointed out in a matter-of-fact manner; hints for further exploration were politely given, and, in the case of texts, emendations were modestly proposed and concisely supported. The tone of the whole exercise was one of efficiency and helpfulness. On the other hand, if anything that he regarded as unnecessary stood in the way of progress he could be mildly ferocious, at least in private. On one occasion, when his handwritten marginal comments on the work of a former student were deemed less than satisfactory by a series editor, because they had not been typed as a list, Westerink duly obliged on the next assignment, but not without the following outburst of gall and fun in a letter to the student in question: "This time, I have typed it up, so that it can be conveniently duplicated and submitted to the editor, the interacademic committee, the supranational advisory council, the interplanetary contact center and select members of the celestial hierarchy. We must do our best to keep scholarship organized and delay the proliferation of printed matter."

And then there was his own scholarship – the series of definitive editions and translations of Neoplatonic and Byzantine authors that streamed out of his workshop over the course of his U.S. career. If he produced five books in twenty years in Holland, he accomplished eight times that amount in twenty-five years spent at Buffalo, i.e., counting some twenty volumes he did entirely on his own and more than twenty others with collaborators. These numbers are astonishing by any standard, considering among other things the range and

complexity of the different subjects involved; and if the quantity of the work is impressive, the consistently high quality is quite amazing. It is not easy to account for the Westerink phenomenon, but some thoughts may be offered on a few of the elements that will have played a role in making the massive achievement possible.

Leendert Westerink was a man who relished work, especially work that he felt really needed to be done. He did not have much time for retilling well-ploughed fields. One gets a good sense of his priorities and convictions from the foreword to the edition of the letters of Nicetas Magistros. Written in French and titled "Editing Byzantine Texts" it is a rich essay on the nature of Byzantine literature, the manner of its survival, and the tasks facing the Byzantine philologist. Towards the end he highlights the question whether Byzantine texts need the same care and attention that have been traditionally lavished on the editions of classical authors. This is how he presents the issue:

> Apart from a small number of excellent critical editions, the greater part of Byzantine literature is still at the stage of editing as practised in the 16th century — the text printed on the basis of a single manuscript chosen at random. (. . .) The system would appear to work fairly well and the not unreasonable question is posed, if it is really necessary, when editing Byzantine texts, to employ all the refinements of Classical Philology, which seem at times to have been created for the sole purpose of providing work for the greatest number of philologists. Given the limited number of workers, would it not be better for them to devote themselves to other tasks, such as the publication of unedited texts or the interpretation of so many works that have received hardly any attention?

The position that he then goes on to argue for is a very sensible and simple one, namely, if Byzantine texts are going to be used for any kind of historical purpose — whether for history proper, or prosopography or theology or philosophy — they can yield accurate information only when edited on the basis of the complete manuscript evidence. The full editing of Byzantine texts is therefore firmly vindicated here. And there is also the broad hint that Classical literature has received more than enough fine editorial attention, while the huge field of Byzantine texts is lying waiting for laborers.

Westerink himself was prepared to roll up his sleeves, and armed with superb philological skills, a profound knowledge of the Greek language, and wide acquaintance with the literature of several periods, he set himself to the task.

Another characteristic was that he kept before him the big picture of jobs to be done. This is evident when one considers the large chunks he was prepared to tackle — a whole corner of the fifth and sixth-century commentary tradition in philosophy and medicine; sizeable pieces of Photius, Arethas, Psellos, Proclus and Damascius. And the trait was there right from the beginning. Among his papers are numerous notebooks and files from the Dutch period (and presumably begun when working for the D. Litt.), exploring in detail the vast oeuvre of Psellos — manuscripts, sources, and bibliography. It is obvious that he had first planned, himself, to produce a complete edition of the Byzantine polymath; and much later, when he wisely assembled a team of younger scholars to do a major part of it, he was able to make considerable use of the material accumulated over the years. As a scholar he was not only courageous, but also thrifty with time and material, and he knew how to collaborate productively with others.

His contributions to scholarship were given formal recognition in several honors. From 1966 until his death he was a Corresponding Member of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Sciences. In 1970 he was "Professeur invité" at the Collège de France, where he conducted a seminar on Byzantine Philology under the auspices of Paul Lemerle, one of the father figures of twentieth-century Byzantine studies. He was a "Visiting Scholar" at Dumbarton Oaks in 1971 and "Chercheur associé" at the C.N.R.S. in Paris 1973-74. He was awarded the title "Distinguished Professor of Classics" at his home institution, S.U.N.Y. Buffalo, in 1974 and held there the Andrew Raymond Chair of Classics from 1975 until his partial retirement in 1984. The American Philological Association bestowed on him the Charles J. Goodwin Award of Merit 1979 for his two-volume edition, translation and commentary, *The Greek Commentators on Plato's Phaedo*. In 1998 an international colloquium was held at Louvain to celebrate the completion of the monumental six-volume

edition of Proclus' *Théologie Platonicienne,* the result of nearly thirty years of model collaboration and friendship between H.D. Saffrey and L.G. Westerink.

As a human being Leendert Westerink was a quiet, gentle and kind man, but no recluse. He was devoted to his family, had a nice sense of humor, enjoyed the occasional strong drink, smoked cigars with relish until his doctor objected, and loved to travel in the summers, both to visit family and friends in several parts of Europe and to inspect manuscripts in remote monasteries on Mt. Athos and on the island of Patmos. As a scholar he was exceptionally productive and always true to the highest standards of the profession. In a volume of British studies devoted to the philosopher Iamblichus and dedicated to Westerink's memory the editors state by way of tribute: "His work represents the greatest single contribution in modern times to the study of later Neoplatonism." (*The Divine Iamblichus*, ed. H. J. Blumenthal and E. G. Clark [London, 1993]). It is extraordinary that the same could with equal justice be said about his work in the entirely separate field of Byzantine philology.

Books (in addition to five seminar monographs listed above):

Psellus, *De Omnifaria Doctrina* (Nijmegen, 1948); Proclus, *Commentary on the First Alcibiades of Plato* (Amsterdam, 1954); Olympiodorus, *Commentary on the First Alcibiades of Plato* (Amsterdam, 1956; repr. with corrections Amsterdam, 1982); Damascius, *Lectures on the Philebus* (Amsterdam, 1959; repr. with corrections Amsterdam, 1982); *Anonymous Prolegomena to Platonic Philosophy* (Amsterdam, 1962; French ed. in Budé series [with A.-Ph. Segonds], 1990); Ps.-Elias, *Lectures on Porphyry's Isagoge* (Amsterdam, 1967); with H. D. Saffrey, Proclus, *Théologie Platonicienne*, six volumes in Budé series (Paris, 1968-97); Arethas, *Scripta Minora*, two volumes in Teubner series (Leipzig, 1968-1972); Olympiodorus, *In Platonis Georgiam Commentaria*, Teubner (Leipzig, 1970); Nicétas Magistros, *Lettres d'un exilé (928-946)* (Paris, 1973); with R. J. H. Jenkins, Nicholas I, *Letters*, Dumbarton Oaks Texts (Washington, 1973); *The Greek Commentaries on*

Plato's Phaedo, vol. I Olympiodorus (Amsterdam, 1976), vol. II Damascius (Amsterdam, 1977); with C. Garton, Theophylact Simocattes, *On Predestined Terms of Life* (Buffalo, 1978); with J. Darrouzès, Theodore Daphnopatès, *Correspondance* (Paris, 1978); with C. Garton, Germanos I, *On Predestined Terms of Life* (Buffalo, 1979); *Texts and Studies in Neoplatonism and Byzantine Literature* [Collected Papers] (Amsterdam, 1980); Nicholas I, *Miscellaneous Writings*, Dumbarton Oaks Texts (Washington, 1981); with B. Laourdas, Photius, *Epistulae*, Teubner, three volumes (Leipzig, 1983-85); Stephanus, *Commentary on the Aphorisms of Hippocrates*, Corpus Medicorum Graecorum, three volumes (Berlin, 1985-95); with J. Combès, Damascius, *Traité des premiers Principes*, Budé, three volumes (Paris, 1986-91); Photius, *Amphilochia*, Teubner, three volumes (Leipzig, 1986-88); Psellus, *Poemata*, Teubner (Stuttgart/Leipzig, 1992); with J. Combès (and A.-Ph. Segonds), Damascius, *Commentaire du Parménide de Platon*, Budé, vols. I and II (Paris, 1997), with two volumes to follow; with J. M. Duffy, Psellus, *Theologica II*, Teubner (Stuttgart/Leipzig, in press).

Sources:

Private correspondence with Charles Garton and George Kustas, personal knowledge, the introduction to the Festschrift, *Gonimos: Neoplatonic and Byzantine Studies Presented to L. G. Westerink at 75*, ed. John Duffy and John Peradotto (Buffalo, NY, 1988), and the following obituaries: *The Arts and Letters News*, Office of the Dean of Arts and Letters, S.U.N.Y Buffalo, vol. 4, no. 2, March 1990 (unsigned, but by C. Garton); *American Philological Association Newsletter*, April 1990, 15, by J. Peradotto;*Gnomon* 63[1](1991) 76-78, by H. D. Saffrey; *Jaarboek (1991) der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Amsterdam 1991, 195-99, by H. J. Drossaart Lulofs. See also the short notice in *Biographical Dictionary of North American Classicists*, ed. W. W. Briggs, Jr. (Connecticut, 1994) 682-84, by C. Garton.

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WOLFF, ROBERT LEE (1915-1980)

WALTER E. KAEGI

Robert Lee Wolff Remembered, 1915-1980

More than two decades have passed since the decease of Robert Lee Wolff, whose historical knowledge and interests were extensive in range and not easy to classify.[1] Probably he would not have regarded himself as primarily a Byzantinist. Although he knew much about the medieval Mediterranean, his intellectual range stretched far beyond its shores, to the interior of the Balkans and Russia itself, from the end of antiquity to the mid-twentieth century. He was prodigiously learned. He was highly conscious of being part of a cohort of young men who entered and exited World War II together after sharing the tough days of the Depression. Although he rose meteorically after World War II, he regarded his initial career as a very difficult struggle. While a Harvard graduate student he taught as a "section man" (Teaching Fellow) in History 1, Harvard's renowned entry-level European medieval and modern history survey (now extinct, after its failed transformation into Social Sciences 1). This was a rewarding and formative experience that he always remembered, having taught in it during its zenith. The History 1 office on the third floor of old Holyoke House contained a large yet faded black-and-white photograph of him and several peers as young, tough, and dedicated "section men." He did not especially relish memories of his own Ph.D. orals ("generals"), for his professors kept him stewing out in the hall awaiting word of their decision on him, while they were leisurely discussing their summer vacation plans.

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[1] I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of the Harvard University Archives and several fellow students. However it has been impractical because of limits of time to sift the 10.4 cubic feet of Wolff papers in thirty-two containers that rest in the Harvard University Archives.

Photo credit: Harvard Yearbook Publications; photo by D.M. Boehm.

Wolff belonged to a generation of World War II veterans who received their Ph.D.s shortly after the end of the war and who then gained excellent jobs and rapid professional advancement. He and his generation were committed to tightening academic standards in higher education in the post-war years. He remembered the extremely tight job situation for academics at the end of the Depression at the start of World War II. Whenever students complained of the difficulty of finding suitable posts he reminded them of the bleak realities of job searching at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in December 1940 that he and fellow graduate students had faced.

A bibliophile, Robert Lee Wolff followed in his father Samuel Lee Wolff's footsteps. His father wrote his own 1912 Columbia dissertation on *The Greek Romances in Elizabethan Fiction*, which was published in book form. The shadow of his father, who taught at Columbia, and his father's Hellenic interests, always lay upon him. His father told him, "You will always be a teacher of English." That prediction became a reality in several ways. Having been a faculty child at Columbia, born 22 December 1915, Robert brought experiences of Columbia and of New York to Cambridge. His roots and perspectives remained northeastern. As he put it, until he went to Wisconsin, everything west of New York's Finger Lakes was *terra incognita*. He was a member of Harvard's undergraduate Class of 1936, graduating summa cum laude. A year later he received the A.M. in History.

True to his father, Wolff was always a careful and demanding critic of written work and lectures, such as papers and dissertations. He emphasized standards of style established by H. W. Fowler, in *Modern English Usage*. He zeroed in on writing skills, including exposition, organization, clarity, in papers, as well as factual and philological accuracy. He eventually gave courses in the Harvard English Department and received an appointment in it. He published extensively on Victorian literature, including five monographs as well as other edited Victorian texts and bibliography. He amassed a vast and very valuable collection of rare volumes, especially in Victorian literature, that he donated to Harvard's Houghton Library, which

specializes in rare books and manuscripts. His literary club associations and activities are for others to describe even though they absorbed much of his time and intellect. He did not extend his deep interest in Victorian England's literature to that of Byzantium, for Byzantine literature received only limited attention in his lectures and writings.

Like many of his cohort, Wolff's experiences during World War II were critical. With the sponsorship of William Langer, he received appointment as Chief, Balkan Section, Research and Analysis Branch, Office of Strategic Services (OSS), a bureau that was, for the duration of the war, the home for many historians (such as H. Stuart Hughes, John Mundy) who achieved subsequent distinction. His designation as head of the Balkan research section for the years 1942-46 was a singular and enormous responsibility for such a young man. Late in the war, as the Red Army was streaming into Rumania, he reportedly parachuted to link up with Rumanian contacts. He later recounted his meetings in Bucharest with officers whose ranks even included a member of the Rhangabe family who claimed a Byzantine genealogy. He also served in Greece and Yugoslavia. His role in shaping U.S. policy in World War II with respect to Mihailović and Tito in Yugoslavia is the subject of rumor and will remain murky until archivists check all of the extant documentation. From a uniquely privileged perch he witnessed and contributed to the shaping of U.S. wartime and post-war policies in southeastern Europe when their conditions and outcomes were still fluid. His OSS experience gave him an enviable understanding of southeastern Europe as well as the opportunity to make many life-long acquaintances. He could think in terms of international security. He developed a strong command of Balkan and early Russian scholarship and read a diverse spread of Classical and Balkan languages as well as Russian. He enjoyed travel.

Wolff's principal contributions to Byzantine scholarship include research, publications, and teaching. With respect to historical research and publication his principal contribution incontestably was his magisterial 4-volume Harvard dissertation on the Latin Empire of Constantinople. Submitted in 1947 and later broken up into articles,

many of which he reproduced in his *Studies in the Latin Empire of Constantinople* in the series of Variorum [now Ashgate] Collected Studies. The dissertation totaled 1,574 pages in length and required many years to complete, even taking into consideration the major interruption of World War II. He confessed that he never expected to remain a graduate student so long. Much more than a work of Crusading history, it was a meticulous investigation of many topics of Byzantine and Balkan history. He was part of a cohort of Crusading historians who consciously rewrote the history of the Crusades under the inspiration of the prematurely deceased John LaMonte. He remarked that Longnon's publication of a volume *L'Empire Latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée* in 1949 caused him to delay taking his own dissertation to a publisher. In retrospect he deeply regretted not having submitted it all at once to a publisher for publication as a book. He probably was right. Later overhaul and updating was so time-consuming that his planned *Byzantium and the West* never appeared. But he always had very strong reservations about the quality of Longnon's work. Some of his researches on Crusades appear in his contributions to the important volume two, *The Later Crusades, 1189-1311* of the [University of Pennsylvania, later University of Wisconsin] *History of the Crusades*, which he co-edited with Kenneth Setton in 1962. After a quarrel about editorial policy, he withdrew his important contribution from volume IV: *The Byzantine Empire* of the revised *Cambridge Medieval History* (1966) and he did not publish it elsewhere.

Wolff was probably best known for co-authoring the extremely successful and lucrative textbook *A History of Civilization* with Crane Brinton and John B. Christopher, the first of which many editions appeared in 1955. His *The Balkans in Our Time* was also a very widely used and influential reference work of contemporary studies. It went through two editions, 1956 and 1974, and several printings.

The Cold War and rising interest in the Crusades and its historiography are two dominant features of the intellectual environment in which Wolff rose rapidly after finishing his World

War II service and his Ph.D. in 1947. He briefly taught at the University of Wisconsin in Madison in its Department of History as Assistant and Associate Professor from 1947 to 1949. During his Madison years he even once or twice came down to Chicago where he commented on the contemporary eastern European situation as a participant in the University of Chicago Round Table, a weekly discussion that was broadcast nationally on the NBC radio network. He remembered his years in Madison very favorably. "Good public schools, beautiful parks, civilized people on the faculty and off, with no town-gown antagonism. Altogether, I qualify as an agent of the Chamber of Commerce both for the city and for the University which, despite the specimens Wisconsin sends to the Senate [he was writing in 1951!] preserves a good American tradition of academic freedom... The only thing which could have pulled us away was the thing that happened: an invitation to come back to Harvard." After the death in 1949 of his teacher, R.P. Blake, he accepted the call to teach at Harvard as tenured Associate Professor of History, where he remained from 1950 until his decease on 11 November 1980, dying at virtually the same age as Blake. He received promotion to the rank of Professor in 1955.

Appointed to succeed William Langer in his distinguished named chair as Archibald Cary Coolidge Professor of History in 1965 Wolff had the honor but equally delicate and sensitive task of handling Coolidge's widow, encumbered with her shopping bags, as one of the regular auditors for his Byzantine history lectures.

Wolff was a very successful university teacher of both graduate and undergraduate students. Strongly committed to and very interested in good academic pedagogy at Harvard, he insisted on top-quality teaching and grading and demanded correction of any errors by other lecturers in classes that he heard. He enjoyed teaching. Always difficult to classify with respect to methodology, he gave greater attention to political, military, and intellectual topics than to socio-cultural or economic ones. His course in Byzantine history involved "studies in irrelevance," as he happily put it, when tastes and benchmarks in the late 1960s turned to judging subjects in terms of their relevance and irrelevance. He likewise deplored the decline in

Harvard History undergraduate enrollments that became evident by the late 1960s. He occasionally took on individual undergraduates as senior tutees in Byzantine history.

In Wolff's initial meeting with a matriculating graduate student who was entering the Byzantine history field he cautioned: "you have to be good, for this is a very tough and very difficult field, with only a limited demand for faculty hiring." For that reason he graded severely and consistently favored a very strictly limited production of Ph.D.s in Byzantine history.

The Byzantine history survey started in the Diocletianic era but included only a little Palaeologan material. He gave effective, vivid, entertaining, and well organized lectures with critical as well as anecdotal features. He kept classes interesting. His lectures were syntheses drawn from well-chosen basic monographs and scholarly articles, not from any textbook. He did not interpret Byzantine history according to any single paradigm. He encouraged those graduate students who questioned prevailing historical paradigms and he welcomed their critical publications on the theoretical foundations of Byzantine and Balkan history.

Elizabeth Fainsod wrote in the *Radcliffe Quarterly* of 1964, "Wolff is a man of large physique: over six feet tall, and broad." He wore a hat to class, and always taught in a suit. He sat at a desk while reading his lecture from a folder. He normally did not lecture standing. Before each class in Byzantine history he carefully wrote out difficult names and terms on the blackboard to avoid bewildering unfamiliar students. He timed his lectures perfectly and expected others to do likewise.

Wolff exercised his option to have his written final examinations formally printed, not duplicated or photocopied, by the Harvard Printing Office. With respect to examination formats he often assigned unidentified lengthy source quotations for examinees to analyze in addition to objective questions such as spot identifications and factual items. He usually had a graduate student grader evaluate undergraduate examinations, although he personally read every examination graded D, E or A. He did not want too many A's. Of course he heard appeals and settled difficult cases.

A devoted participant in the jointly taught two-semester Ottoman History course that William Langer conceived, Wolff sat in the back of the classroom in Sever Hall, where he monitored and critiqued his colleagues when he was not himself lecturing. He presented some of his views on Palaeologan history in that course. He delivered lively and well-researched lectures on selected topics, especially on Balkan nationalities and the larger sweep of events. In this class, in contrast to his Byzantine one, perhaps because of special funding, lavishly duplicated handouts contained the difficult names and terms as well as bibliographical items.

One of the most distinctive features of Wolff's teaching was the effective integration of Balkan topics and perspectives into broader European and Middle Eastern History. Although he offered a seminar but no lecture course on Balkan history, he stimulated the teaching of Balkan history by integrating it into broader European history. That kind of synthetic work on the Balkans has now largely disappeared from European history courses in North American institutions. Its disappearance from undergraduate surveys and consciousness is a major loss. Extremely few competent specialists in broader Balkan or even Modern Greek history are now teaching or are available for consultation in U.S. institutions. Experiences in the last dozen years have exposed the worsening U.S. ignorance of the historical background of Balkan ethnic and religious identities and strife. Events after their decease have reaffirmed the need for some kind of course that builds on or revises what Langer and Wolff conceived and developed. Their old Ottoman survey course, with its investigation of Balkan nationality problems and their relationships to the European state system, takes on more significance at the beginning of the twenty-first century than it did at Wolff's decease two decades ago. It is a missing dimension of historical studies, even though some would criticize it as Eurocentric. The bitter controversies that arose in the late 1950s and early 1960s about the proper framework and procedures for the conceptualization and teaching of Ottoman history and the rise of that empire's national minorities swirled around this course. They are so important that they deserve

elucidation by Turcologists, Neohellenists, and Balkanologists instead of Byzantinists.

Wolff gave seminars on the crusades, Balkans, and Byzantium in which he encouraged critical evaluation of seminar members' papers. He assigned a critic for each paper. He stimulated interest in the neglected Later Crusades and made available a list of inadequately researched topics in that field. He asked seminar members to read devastating critical reviews that listed errata in exhausting detail even though an assigned book's publishing house might be very distinguished. In his seminars he taught the need to cross-check, to realize how easy it is for errors to creep into scholarship. He sometimes taught it at his spacious and well-appointed house on 10 Follen Street, Cambridge, where he was a good host. In his seminars, he explicitly held out the objective of production of seminar papers of the quality suitable for publication in rigorous scholarly journals. A number of students succeeded in publishing papers from his seminars in such journals as *Traditio, Speculum, and the Zbornik Radova* of the Byzantine Institute in Belgrade, among others. He generally declined to approach journals on behalf of his students, leaving that responsibility to the respective aspiring authors. However he did give valuable advice on how to prepare a manuscript for submission, and where one might send it.

The list of Wolff's Ph.D.s divides into at least two groups. Of principal interest here are the many Byzantinists who have contributed to Byzantine historical studies in the United States by their teaching or publishing or both: Deno Geanakoplos, Speros Vryonis, George Soulis, Andrew Jameson, Harry Magoulias, Charles M. Brand, Walter E. Kaegi, Angeliki Laiou, John V. Fine, Jr., and John P. Thomas. In addition, Wolff contributed significantly to the training of Byzantine historian Stephen Gerö even though Gerö did not receive his Ph.D. from the History Department, but from the Harvard Divinity School. They have respectively occupied a highly significant proportion of Byzantine history positions and produced a highly significant proportion of Byzantine historical publications in North America. As the authors of his biography for his Harvard memorial service commented on 20 November 1980, "It is no

exaggeration to say that in this country he trained a whole generation of Byzantine scholars–all but one of the Byzantinists at leading American universities have been his students." Although future investigators of Byzantine scholarship may wish to evaluate the above Wolff students' respective contributions to Byzantine studies that endeavor would be inappropriate here. He encouraged graduate students in Byzantine history to audit or take Ernst Kitzinger's general course on Byzantine art history (which ultimately evolved into the book *Byzantine Art in the Making*) whenever Kitzinger offered his visiting semester-length course at Harvard before 1966 as well as after Kitzinger permanently moved to Cambridge from Washington.

Post-Byzantine Greek historians constitute a not inconsiderable second group of Wolff Ph.D.s. One thinks of John Petropoulos, Dennis N. Skiotis, and (as reader only) for Paschalis Kitromilides.

But other undergraduate and graduate student constituencies also profited from Wolff's instruction. He gave Harvard's early Russian history survey in the 1950s and at beginning of 1960s until other faculty assumed that responsibility. Duties on the boards of the Harvard's Russian Research Center and Center for Middle Eastern Studies took much of his time. For part of his career the Islamicist H.A.R. Gibb was a colleague in the Department of History and the Center for Middle Eastern Studies. They occasionally served together on the same Ph.D. oral examination. Wolff participated in the training of numerous Russian historians at Harvard (including Douglas Bennett, currently President of Wesleyan University) even though he did not usually supervise their dissertations. He also contributed to the training and examination of the numerous M.A.s in Russian Area Studies who populated Harvard in the Cold War era.

Seminars were the stimulating incubator for a number of important scholarly articles by medievalists who did not write dissertations under Wolff. Their ranks include Giles Constable, Elizabeth A. R. Brown, and Walter Goffart, who all published their respective Wolff seminar papers in *Traditio*.

The catalytic role of Wolff's graduate teaching peaked between the early 1950s and the middle 1960s. The deterioration of job prospects

and of his own health contributed to the diminished production of new Ph.D.s during the 1970s in Crusading, Byzantine, and Post-Byzantine Greek history. Trends in choices of historical subjects and methodologies changed. Some disillusioned students simply terminated their studies, as many of their peers were doing elsewhere in North America.

Wolff administered Ph.D. oral ("General") examinations sometimes in his office at Widener L, sometimes at the History Department office in Holyoke House, shortly before its demolition for Holyoke Center. General examinations lasted two hours and included a total of four thirty-minute oral examinations on different general fields. An oral examiner with a formidable reputation, he could and did turn junior faculty colleague examiners as well as student examinees to trepidation. On one occasion Wolff chaired a general examination in which an Assistant Professor examiner from another field of history became so nervous that he dropped his written-out questions from his trembling hands, picked them up from the carpet of the Holyoke House and then found that he could not read them because they were still upside down. The likewise nervous examinee somehow maintained composure.

The Harvard Faculty Club saw much of Wolff, who frequently lunched there with U.S. historian Donald Fleming. He enjoyed his luncheon conversations. He occasionally invited graduate students to lunch with him for special one-to-one conversations. He enjoyed food and drink. Beyond Harvard's medievalists he maintained very collegial ties with Europeanists William Langer and Crane Brinton and British historian John Clive. But he also interacted with Harvard specialists on Russia and Eastern Europe outside Department of History, such as Adam Ulam. He took the time to see and chat with John Coddington and selected other Harvard graduate students in European history of his own generation who never managed to finish their dissertations.

Wolff energetically and dynamically chaired the Harvard History Department in a stressful period of academic growth that resulted in rising demand for new Ph.D.s. History at that time (1961-63) had the largest number of concentrators at Harvard: "about one sixth of all

Harvard and Radcliffe undergraduates," as he proudly wrote in his 25th Anniversary Report for the Class of 1936. The department enjoyed optimal prestige nationwide as well. His office as departmental chair still occupied the musty second floor of Holyoke House, which, immediately following the end of his chairmanship in 1963, was torn down and replaced by Holyoke Center. Committee duties at the departmental and broader level engaged much of his time before and after he chaired the History Department. While chair he, like others elsewhere, did not foresee the collapse of the soaring market for Ph.D.s at the end of the 1960s. But when it occurred he knew the right solution. He accepted chairmanship of an important university-wide policy-making committee (often colloquially called "the Wolff Committee") that reviewed the Harvard Graduate School of Arts and Sciences. His committee recommended the decisive reduction of graduate enrollments given diminishing job opportunities. In retrospect many inside and outside of Harvard regarded this far-sighted policy decision as one of his most important legacies at Harvard.

Although a member of the Board of Scholars of Harvard's Center for Byzantine Studies at Dumbarton Oaks, Wolff's participation waned in the early 1960s and never resumed. He seldom visited Dumbarton Oaks ("Stay out of what's going on in the halls down there!"). Heavily involved in the Medieval Academy early in his academic career, his role lessened progressively after the early 1960s. He ceased to attend American Historical Association meetings after completing his duties as Chair of the Harvard History Department. Although he approved and supported its formation in 1975, he never attended or participated in the Byzantine Studies Conference[2].

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[2] However on Sunday, 15 November 1981, on the initiative of Giles Constable, Dumbarton Oaks and Harvard University generously sponsored "Lectures in Honor of Robert Lee Wolff," which took place 2-5 P.M. in Boylston Hall in Harvard Yard, immediately following the formal termination of the Seventh Annual Byzantine Studies Conference, which met at Boston University. The titles of these lectures were printed on the flyleaf of the regular conference program, so in a certain sense Robert Lee Wolff was present in that conference.

Anger could transform a twinkling eye and normally jolly and hearty smile into a flush-red neck and face. A frustrated Wolff could impatiently pound the service counter at Widener: "Dammit, I'm a member of the Library Committee!" One already uneasy graduate student in Russian history was sitting in the departmental chair's anteroom waiting to see Wolff when he heard him roar from his chairman's office to Harriet Dorman, the History Department secretary, "I'm up to my neck in a river of shit *and now* you give me an appointment with *this* sonofabitch!" The young Russian historian never learned to whom Wolff referred, whether to himself or someone else. Some other investigator will have to ascertain the veracity of numerous gnomic *varia* attributed to Robert Lee Wolff.

Wolff occasionally wrote stormy letters, some of which he published. Robert Lee Wolff understandably became extremely peeved that he was sometimes confused with Robert Paul Wolff, a prominent and controversial left-wing philosopher of the 1960s, and so informed the Harvard *Crimson*. Less well known (even to him?) was another occasional and very careless confusion of his name by some contemporaries with that of another Harvard History Ph.D., the early modern European historian John B. Wolf. The latter confusion probably derived from a careless transposition and confusion by some of John B. Wolf, whose last name was spelled with a single "f," with John B. Christopher, the co-author with Wolff and Crane Brinton of their well-known *History of Civilization*.

Widener L in Widener Library was Wolff's spacious office after he moved there from a smaller and darker one inside the Widener stacks in 1959. Widener L had lengthy work tables as well as a desk. He did much of his scholarly work there. Because he disliked its buzzing fluorescent ceiling lights he preferred illumination from a floor lamp. He did not welcome knocks on his door outside of announced office hours. He was known on occasion even to steer junior colleagues to see him during those limited and specified hours: 3-5 P.M. on Wednesdays. He knew the peculiarities of Widener Library very well. He was an excellent bibliographical sleuth. On many occasions over the years he showed strong concern for

Widener Library's smooth functioning and security, including problems of vandalism, theft and defacement of volumes.

Wolff was difficult of access and remote until many graduate students reached advanced status. Many regarded him as extremely hard to know. When such students neared completion of their dissertations he then relaxed and became more human to them. He usually preferred that students find their own dissertation topics. He critiqued dissertations judiciously and rigorously. Yet he was a caring mentor who could and did intervene decisively and effectively in moments of greatest need. In difficult, stressful, or even traumatic moments he gave students valuable and even essential support. He was a very good advisor on academic job-seeking. He was alert and well informed about the state of the field. He vigorously used the telephone as well as letters to help his students secure their initial fellowships and jobs. Then they were on their own. He cautioned against academic politics. He possessed and recommended respect for academic propriety and the highest scholarly standards. He maintained his own integrity despite repeated sniping from his various Byzantinist and Ottomanist critics and he encouraged his students to maintain theirs. He could and did engage in academic combat but he counseled his students to pause and reflect before initiating it: "Avoid too much controversy early in your career." His professional and scholarly judgments were frequently blunt, tough, cut to the bone, and usually correct. Although he enjoyed being in Cambridge he once stressed to an assemblage of Harvard History graduate students at an open meeting on the job market that there were other places, to "shake the dust of Cambridge off your shoes."

The cardiac problems that troubled Robert Lee Wolff's final ten years of life diminished his intellectual activities and zest. He lives on through his diverse students and their publications and other professional activities in myriad ways.

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